SOCIAL PROCESS
IN HAWAII

Compiled and Published
by the
SOCIOLOGY CLUB
University of Hawaii

MAY, 1935
HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

Published by the Sociology Club
University of Hawaii
May 1935

oOo

CONTENTS PAGE

DIAGNOSING SOCIAL PROCESSES IN HAWAII
(Foreword)

Kum Pui Lai

Peoples in every part of the world are interested in Hawaii. Poets, authors, anthropologists, and sociologists all conceive of Hawaii as a rich and fertile Paradise for their writings and researches. The World Community shrinking with the aid of short-wave radios, Pan-Pacific airplanes, and fast trans-Pacific liners reduces time distances to bring the peoples of China, Japan, and the United States still closer to the Hawaiian Islands.

Numerous articles, pamphlets, and books have been written on the interaction of diverse cultures and the amalgamation of different races in Hawaii. Generally speaking, they may be classified into two types--the sentimental and the scientific. The journalist, the "book-a-month" sociologist, and the newcomer with his interpretation of race relations are apt to picture sentimentally and sensationally the more formal and superficial aspects of the situation and to leave out the basic facts underlying the multifarious social forces at work in the "Sandwich Islands."

Although the point of view of "Social Process in Hawaii" is one which aims to describe forces and processes without moral evaluations, it does not necessarily mean that the contributors, outside their role of scientific writers, assume the "laissez-faire" attitude towards social problems and their solutions. On the contrary, the writers, more or less familiar with the science of society and having lived in Hawaii the greater portion of their lives, are keenly interested in the harmonious integration of many cultures in the making of a neo-Hawaiian community. However, along with schemes of social reformation there must also be researches for scientific information. With the above viewpoint the student sociologists regard, for example, intermarriage as a phenomenon to be studied like any other form of human behavior, and to be analyzed with "disinterested interest."

The above method of attack emphasizes not "what ought to be done" but "what can be done" in a social situation after the facts are revealed scientifically. Control, no doubt, is the ultimate goal of the social sciences. But classified facts are necessary before intelligent philanthropy or reforms can be brought about successfully. Therefore, in an attempt to bridge theory and practice, science and art, sociology and social work, the world of idealism and the world of reality, and to answer a felt need in the popular dissemination of research findings, "Social Process in Hawaii" is being published by the Sociology Club. Added significance is derived from the fact that, although distinctly a student enterprise, the faculty have given it their whole-hearted support. Several of the papers originated as student reports in sociology classes, while others are the result of faculty research. It is our conviction that this cooperative relationship has intrinsic merit in any effective "pursuit of knowledge"; and should the dreams of the Sociology Club for an annual publication in a more impressive format be realized, it is hoped that this cordial relationship between "the teachers and the taught" may be continued.

VOTING IN HAWAII

Andrew W. Lind

Among the cultural elements from America engrafted in the life of Hawaii, none has become more deeply rooted than that of political democracy. No threat to Island status is more vigorously and unitedly repulsed than the charge of incapacity for self-government. A native monarchy, inculcated with liberal conceptions of government from the missionary instructors, had maintained its sovereignty relatively intact for over a century in the face of western imperialism. A bloodless revolution supplanted the native monarchy with a republic which soon sought incorporation within the American commonwealth as a self-governing territory. Thirty-five years of apprenticeship under the forms of American democracy appear to most Island citizens to provide adequate evidence of their political capacity.

Admirals, visiting columnists, and some local residents deny the validity or relevance of the testimony presented, citing other facts which they regard as severely damaging to local claims. Characteristic of the objections to Hawaiian aspirations for local autonomy are those cited three years ago by the Commandant of the Fourteenth Naval District who said,

> "The presence of Oriental language newspapers, Buddhist temples, oriental schools, oriental organizations for various purposes, are indicative of the methods by which many island born orientals are being educated to consider themselves subordinate to the country of their racial origin. . . What is also disturbing is the intermixture of races that has been going on in the Hawaiian Islands for many years. . . The present system of self-government tends to increase the number of voters and consequently of politicians and potential office holders from among racial mixtures. . . At present government control should be by men primarily of the Caucasian race, by men who are not imbued too deeply with the peculiar atmosphere of the islands or with predominance of inter-family connections, by men without preconceived ideas of the value and success of the melting pot."

Whether or not the facts are accurately stated or relevant to the case does not concern us here. They are matters of belief and attitude and are as much and no more subject to rational control than the attitudes of those "who are imbued too deeply with the peculiar atmosphere of the islands." Since the ultimate issue of Hawaii's struggle for a place among the commonwealth of states will, however be determined by forces outside of Hawaii's immediate experience or control, the following attempt to describe part of the political process in Hawaii will presumably not be interpreted as support for either point of view.

The City. Hawaii's experience in voting and in the other forms of political democracy was first derived from the town and it is in the city atmosphere, that the freedom and rationality essential to modern democracy have been most effectively and persistently nurtured. Honolulu, with its greater opportunity for economic and social advancement, has attracted a disproportionate number of the second generation citizens. By 1930, 53.5 per cent of all the voters in the Territory had gravitated to the city of Honolulu, although only 37 per cent of the total population of the Islands lived within the city. The young, restless, not to say radical elements of the population find the urban environment most favorable to their aspirations and it is here that social movements of all types have had their inception. Opposition to the established political order, whether it be the revolution of 1887 and 1893 or the minority Home Rule and Democratic parties of more recent days, has frequently originated and has usually drawn its major support from the city.

The plantation, on the other hand, is itself somewhat of a political sovereignty and one would naturally expect it to contribute little to the expanding democracy of the town and city. Organized as an economic institution for producing staples for the world market, the plantation becomes of necessity a device for ordering the labor and the lives of the people who live within its borders. It is in truth an estate in which the manager or proprietor exercises widespread political, as well as economic, control. One of the striking peculiarities of the plantation system in Hawaii is the fact that it has been subject to so much regulation and influence from without.

The critical and liberalizing forces of political democracy have probably extended further into the plantation areas of Hawaii than in most comparable regions of the world. The newspaper and the public school as symbols of the free city enter even the most remote and isolated plantation. But most significant of all--the plantation laborer is becoming a voter and an active participant in the democratic processes of the commonwealth in which both plantation and city are incorporated. The proportion of citizen laborers on the sugar plantations of Hawaii is not as yet very large but it is growing.

The number of adult male citizens employed on the plantations increased from 5,854 or 11.9 per cent in 1931 to 8,973 or 17.3 per cent in 1934. There is no means of determining what proportion of the nine thousands were eligible and actually cast their ballots, but an examination of the election returns from plantation precincts reveals that the ratio of registrants to voters was generally as high as in the urban districts. Contrary to current opinion, the plantation lends support to popular democracy in the Islands by encouraging its employees to exercise their rights as voters. They frequently provide transportation for their employees to the polling places.

It is frequently claimed that plantation control extends to the manner of voting as well. A public investigation of charges of coercion in connection with voting in plantation areas has just been completed, but the findings are not yet available. Dependent as the Hawaiian sugar plantations are upon tariff protection, they have always supported the Republican party and its candidates,

financially and otherwise, and it is not surprising that plantation employees are frequently urged, not only to vote Republican but to vote for Republican candidates sympathetic to the plantations. Generally the balloting in plantation precincts has been Republican; perhaps because the laborers, too, recognize or think they recognize the hand that feeds them, but there has always been considerable variation in the support received by any specific candidate. Thus, although the Republican candidate for delegate to Congress in 1930 generally led his Democratic opponent in the plantation precincts, his ratio of the total vote fell as low as 60 per cent in certain plantation areas. In the last election the deflections from the Republican ranks were even more marked in plantation precincts,(1) especially those on the islands of Maui and Kauai. Both of these districts are chiefly plantation in character and normally Republican strongholds, but in the last election one gave the Democratic candidate for delegate a clear majority and in the other, the vote was very close. Thus, whatever the political pressure upon the plantation voter may be, the balloting seems to indicate that he relies upon his own judgment within the privacy of the voting booth. This emancipation from plantation influence in voting may be expected to increase as the numbers of citizen laborers grow.

The Party is here, as in continental United States, a factor of major significance in controlling the vote. The shades of Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, and the Roosevelts are invoked in Hawaii with as much effect upon the voters as in New York or Boston. For most practical purposes, however, local issues such as patronage, improvements, education, taxation and all the questions which immediately affect the lives of the citizenry determine party lines and party support. The Democratic party, generally in the minority, has always attracted the poorer classes of the city, but with the national landslide of 1932, its position throughout the territory was greatly strengthened. Voting "the straight ticket" is of course, strongly urged by both parties and appears to be reasonably effective with both Democratic and Republican supporters, more so with the city Bourbons and the Rural G.O.P.'ers. It is significant that no candidate for political office is likely to go far unless he begins as a party "regular".

The Racial Group. The concern of visiting Congressmen and Admirals as to the voting tendencies of the Island-born citizens is not difficult to understand, considering the varied racial ancestries of our population. (cf. Article on Current Vital Statistics.) The newcomer from the continent sees or thinks he sees a surging tide of Oriental citizens destined soon to control Island politics.

Table I. Percentage Distribution of the Territorial Electorate by Race, 1930 and 1934.

	1930		1934	
	Voters	Per Cent	Voters	Per Cent
Hawaiian	13,262	30.5	14,290	22.9
Part Hawaiian	3,632	8.3	5,154	8.2
Portuguese	6,976	16.0	10,294	16.5
Other Caucasian	7,941	18.3	10,950	17.5
Chinese	3,697	8.5	5,447	8.7
Japanese	6,012	13.8	13,630	21.9
Others	2,001	4.6	2,662	4.3
Total	43,521	100.0	62,427	100.0

(1) It is to be noted that in all so called plantation precincts, there are some voters who have no connections with the plantation.

It can be observed that the racial complexion of the electorate is changing--the native Hawaiian is losing somewhat in political strength while the Oriental groups are increasing. The Japanese voting struggle will probably reach its maximum of a third or little over of the total sometime during the next decade, but no single racial group except the highly inter-mixed Neo-Hawaiians will ever constitute a majority.

The fear, so frequently expressed, that each of the racial groups will vote as a unit is without foundation judging by the experience thus far. No candidate for office would think of campaigning on a racial basis; to do so, even in a district with a high concentration of voters of his own ancestry, would be to court disaster. A study of the last four biennial elections in Honolulu reveals the fact that although the political novice may draw support specifically from his own racial group, he cannot be elected upon the basis of such support. The experienced and successful politician, on other hand, inevitably alienates many voters of his own racial ancestry. The most active opposition to Chinese and Japanese candidates in recent elections has come from organizations within the same ethnic groups. There is clear evidence that in the case of some of the more experienced Haole and Hawaiian politicians, a majority of the citizens of their own ancestry voted against them. This is particularly true of the Haole Democrats and the Hawaiian Republicans in Honolulu.

THE RACIAL FUTURE OF CAUCASIAN-HAWAIIANS
(A Genealogical Study)

Margaret M. Lam

Among some of the aspects of Hawaii's race problems that claim the attention and interest of students of race is the existence of a conspicuously large number of mixed blood families of varying and unique racial combinations. This novel racial situation evokes no end of curiosity and question with regard to the racial outcome or future of the hybrid offspring. What happens to the children of mixed parentage? Do they marry back into their parent groups and become ultimately amalgamated with these racial stocks? Or, do they tend to establish a hybrid class in the community by propagating among themselves?

A search for facts that will throw light on these queries has resulted in an intensive genealogical study of a Caucasian-Hawaiian family of social prominence in the islands. The paternal progenitor of this large racially mixed "clan" was a British seaman(1) who arrived in Hawaii somewhere between 1791 and 1794. He entered the service of the Hawaiian monarch, and, like many of the king's favorite haoles, he was given a native wife of alii, or chiefly, status. From this White-Hawaiian union there appeared eight hybrid offspring-five males and three females. Five of these children left living issues who in turn multiplied the seeds of their bi-racial species to the present grand total of four hundred eighty-two. Three hundred eighty-four are living today, and these racial blends are not only scattered throughout the Territory of Hawaii, but a few are known to have established domicile in America as well as in Asia.

Now into what racial groups have the descendants of X married? Do the light-complexioned hybrids move in the same racial direction as their swarthy brothers? The answer to these questions can be elucidated by classifying the hybrids in the X family into the following four groups of mixed Hawaiian blood: Group I, More-than-one-half Hawaiian blood; Group II, One-half-Hawaiian and one-half-Caucasian blood; Group III, More-than-one-half Caucasian blood; and Group IV, More-than-two-racial mixture. Let us take each group individually and examine the racial character of its marriages.

Group I. More-than-one-half Hawaiian Blood. Out of a grand total of one hundred and seventy-seven marriages(2) recorded for the entire X "clan", fifty-two of them were marital unions of individuals

---

(1) Referred to in this article as X

(2) This number includes second and third and other marriages. It is important to consider each marital union a distinct marriage because very frequently the racial character of the second marriage differs markedly from the first. For example, a first marriage with a Caucasian and a second marriage with an Hawaiian cannot be treated as one or alike.

who have more than one-half Hawaiian blood. Group I outmarried more widely than any of the other three groups. The accompanying table shows that twenty-two of the dark part-Hawaiians espoused natives; five chose racial blends of their kind; six married Hapa-haoles;[1] two, Chinese-Caucasian-Hawaiians; two, Portuguese; two, Chinese; one, a South Sea Islander; one, a South Sea-Hawaiian; one, a Chinese-Hawaiian; one, a Chinese-South Sea Islander; one, a Japanese; and one, an American Indian.

There is a significant difference between the marriages of the two sexes in Group I. Out of the twenty-two Hawaiian marital unions, fourteen were marriages of men and only eight of women. In other words, more than one half of them were alliances of hybrid men with native women. The marriages with the dark hybrids exhibit a similar tendency. Four men sought wives of their racial kind, while only one woman married a swarthy Caucasian-Hawaiian. On the other hand, the females chose lighter complexioned husbands. This fact is revealed in the following choices: four women as against two men married Hapa-haoles, while five women and only one man chose White spouses. The number of marriage ties with Chinese-Caucasian-Hawaiians and Portuguese was equally divided between the sexes. However, more men than women registered in the outmarriages.

Members of Group I resemble the native Hawaiians in many respects. Indeed, many of them pass as Hawaiians and they desire to be regarded as such, ignoring what little White or foreign blood they possess. Summarizing, then, the racial character of the marriage choices in this group of dusky hybrids, we have more marriage ties with native Hawaiians than with any other racial group. More than one half of these were marriages contracted by men. The males led too in the number of outmarriages, but the females also exhibit a tendency to marry within their parental racial groups, but "light."

Group II. One-half-Hawaiian and one-half-Caucasian Blood. This is the Hapa-haole or, literally, "half-white" group. It claims thirty-six, and these thirty-six hybrids remained quite consistently within their racial boundary. In other words, there was practically no outmarriage. Seven married Hawaiians, one espoused a hybrid with more Polynesian than White blood, eleven united with Hapa-haoles, five formed marriage ties with lighter part-Hawaiians, ten selected White mates and only two chose Chinese-Caucasian-Hawaiian spouses.

There appears to be a tendency on the part of the males to marry native wives, and an inclination of the females to establish marital unions with lighter part-Hawaiians and with Whites. For

---

(1) Group II will be referred to in this paper as Hapa-haoles. The word Hapa-haole is used mainly to distinguish the one-half Hawaiian and one-half Caucasian individuals from other hybrids of Hawaiian mixture.

A SUMMARY OF ALL THE MARRIAGES IN THE X FAMILY

Racial Composition of Outsiders Married into the X Family

Racial Composition of X Family members	Hawn	More than ½ Hawn	½ Hawn and ½ white	More than ½ white	White	Chin. Hawn	Chin Cau. Hawn	Span.	Part.	Chin.	Jap	Amer. Indian	S. Sea Hawn	Cau. S. Sea Hawn	S. Sea	Chin. S. Sea	Total
Hawn.																	
More than ½ Hawn.	8 / 14	1 / 4	4 / 2	1 /	5 / 1	/ 1	1 / 1	/	1 / 1	2 /	/ 1	/ 1	/ 1	/	/ 1	1 /	24 / 28
½ Hawn. and ½ white	1 / 6	1 /	1 / 10	3 / 2	9 / 1	/	/ 2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	15 / 21
More than ½ white	2 / 2	1 /	17 / 8	2 / 2	26 / 2	3 /	/	2 / 2	3 / 2	/	1 /	/	/	/	2 /	/	57 / 18
White																	
S. Sea-Cau. Hawn.						1 /											1 /
Cau.-Chin. S. Sea-Hawn	1 / 1	/	4 / 1	/	3 /	1 / 1	/	1 /	/	/	/	/	/	1 /	/	/	9 / 4
Total	11 / 23	3 / 4	26 / 21	6 / 4	43 / 4	4 / 3	1 / 3	3 / 3	4 / 3	2 /	1 / 1	1 / 1	1 / 1	1 /	2 / 1	1 /	105 / 72
Grand Total	34	7	47	10	47	7	4	3	7	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	177

Note: Number in upper right hand corner indicates marriages of females in the X family with outside males; in lower left, marriages of males in X family with outside females.

example, nine Hapa-haole women succeeded in charming the hearts of Caucasian males, while only one hybrid man won the affections of a White maiden. Six men selected native wives while only one woman, perhaps forced by the aesthetic disability of advancing age and previous marital status, united with an Hawaiian man.

The Hapa-haole marriages are rather revealing. Ten Hapa-haole men sought ten Hapa-haole wives, while only one woman took a fancy to a mate of her racial kind. In view of the fact that it is a rare occurrence for a Nordic Caucasian girl to marry a mixed blood, the obstinate wishes of these part-Hawaiian men to hold their own, so to speak, merits special attention.

With the lighter marriages the men did fairly well--they claiming two and the women no more than three. The marriage ties with Caucasian-Chinese-Hawaiians were those of men only.

Thus Group II is the only group of the four which has remained more or less solidly Caucasian-Hawaiian. Unlike Group I it does not extend its marriage tentacles into other racial groups. It tends to be the intermediate group between its parent races, the Caucasian and the Hawaiian.

Group III. More-than-one-half-Caucasian Blood. These are the light part-Hawaiians or the near-Whites, and they include our blonde-haired, blue-eyed, and fair or ruddy-complexioned hybrids. They compose the largest of the four groups of mixed Hawaiian blood mixture in this family. Seventy-five out of a grand total of one hundred seventy-seven marriages recorded for the entire X family were marriages of these fair mixed bloods. Of the total, twenty-eight were marital unions with Nordic Whites; twenty-five, with Hapa-haoles; five, with Portuguese; four, with light Caucasian-Hawaiians; four, with natives; three, with Chinese-Hawaiians; two, with Spanish; two, with pure and part South Sea Islanders; one, with a Japanese; and one, with a dusky White-Hawaiian. If we classify the Portuguese and the Spanish with the Caucasians, we have thirty-five marriages with Whites--nearly one half of the total seventy-five. Indeed, if we include the four unions with the fairer part-Hawaiians we have a racial trend distinctly toward the White race.

The number of females in this group more than triples the number of males--fifty-seven versus eighteen. The preponderance of women over men here makes any comparison awkward and inadequate, especially when such small figures are involved.

The marriages of Group III present many colorful incidents. The fact that many members of this group are so fair and can easily be taken for Caucasians makes this choice of life-mates quite interesting and with regard to their outmarriages even astonishing to the observer. However, nearly one-half of their marital unions were with representatives of the Caucasian race, and about one fourth with Hapa-haole hybrids. The outmarriages with Chinese-Hawaiians, Japanese,

and South Sea Islanders were those of the fairer sex, but the "clan's" women in general exhibit a tendency to choose White spouses.

Group IV. More-than-two-Racial Mixture. This is a family group, all of its members belonging to one family branch. It is said that the Caucasian-Hawaiian founder of this line kidnapped a beautiful Tahitian chiefess from the hands of interested parties in Hawaii and promptly married her. Together they reared only one son, who, to make his racial history even more intricate, took to himself a Chinese-Hawaiian wife. From this Caucasian-Tahitian-Hawaiian and Chinese-Hawaiian union there appeared a brood of ten exotic offspring who have the four strains of blood of their ancestors running through their veins.

How did these complex racial blends and their descendants marry: Five chose Hapa-haole mates; three, White; two, Chinese-Hawaiian; one, a native Hawaiian; one, a Spanish; and one, a Caucasian-South Sea-Hawaiian. The girls in this family tend, like the rest, to marry into the lighter group.

The significant fact in the marriages of Group IV is that every mixed-blood married within its racial parental groups. In other words, none married outside of the races which they represent.

What becomes of the offspring of mixed parentage? What hybrids marry what races? This paper attempts to answer these queries only with regard to this particular racially mixed family. The swarthy hybrids show an inclination toward a back-marriage with members of the maternal or Hawaiian race; the light mixed bloods toward the fair paternal race and members of their kind; and the Hapa-haoles toward the maintenance of their intermediate group with also a tendency toward the White race. Outmarriages are found more frequently among the dark hybrids, although there are a few among the light part-Hawaiians. The more-than-two-racial mixture group exhibits a desire to remain within their racial boundary. They form a distinct group by themselves, distinguished from others by their complex blood mixture.

THE CHINESE-HAWAIIAN MIXTURE

Richard Chow

To understand the trend of inter-marriage between Chinese and Hawaiians, an appreciation of the circumstances that surrounded the early Chinese immigrants is necessary. The conditions of immigration for the Chinese were such that very few brought wives. In 1884 about 5% of the Chinese men had Chinese wives in Hawaii. By 1900 only about 10% were so provided, and at so late a date as 1920 less than one-third of the Chinese men had Chinese wives living in Hawaii. This abnormal sex ratio explains the failure of the Chinese population to assume a normal growth. The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands in 1898 virtually closed, for a time, the source through which Chinese wives could come. The abnormal sex ratio, resulting in a predominance of young Chinese males, and the desires of these young men for a normal family life have caused the Chinese to marry outside races.

The apparent tolerant attitude of the Hawaiians, the slight color difference between the Chinese and the Hawaiian, the fact that Chinese were good providers and consequently good husbands, and the prevailing belief in the power of the Chinese blood to transform the native into a brilliant and industrious individual, provided the main factors leading to intermarriage between the Chinese and the Hawaiian. These circumstantial factors have brought about a new type, the Chinese-Hawaiian.

The Chinese in Hawaii enjoy a higher economic status in the community than the native group. A mixed-blood of Chinese-Hawaiian ancestry is thus torn between a desire to become identified with a racial group which enjoys prestige in the society in which he lives and the desire to find security and response among those of his Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian kin. Moreover, he shares with the Hawaiians, because of his biological affinity with this race, the prejudiced attacks and attitudes that are directed toward this native group. Under such conditions, the Chinese-Hawaiian hybrid frequently finds his social adjustments a baffling problem. Should he strive to gain admittance into the Oriental social group? Are the Chinese willing to receive him? Will the physical hallmarks of his hybrid inheritance be a hindrance to his assimilation with this race? Or should he not terminate his conflicts by joining the rank of the natives and console himself with life in this Polynesian group? What is his destiny if neither racial paths can be attained, or if neither one is desirable to him?

The writer's conclusion drawn from the survey of the social organizations of Honolulu in 1934 is that the tendency of Chinese-Hawaiians to affiliate themselves with Hawaiian groups is greater than the tendency to join Chinese organizations. The fact that 25% of the members of the Hawaiian Civic Association, 33% of the members of the Mormon Church, and 55% of the members of the Kaumakapili Church are Chinese-Hawaiians, validates this point. (The above are Hawaiian organizations.) The cosmopolitan organizations follow the Hawaiian organizations in popularity; 4.8% of the members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, 24% of the members of the Kaimuki

Church of Christ, and 16% of the members of Kaimuki Community Church are of the Chinese-Hawaiian mixture. The Chinese organizations do not claim large Chinese-Hawaiian membership. This is quite a significant fact, especially when it generally is assumed that the Chinese are "superior" to the Hawaiian group.

What accounts for these tendencies? Why do the Chinese-Hawaiians prefer to identify themselves with the native parental group? Do they prefer to be so identified or are they compelled by other social forces or factors to become aligned with the so-called "inferior" parental group?

In the first place, the attitude of the Chinese toward the natives and hybrids has a great influence on the racial direction of the Chinese-Hawaiians. The early Chinese immigrants took Hawaiian wives because of circumstances. They came to these Islands to supply a definite demand for plantation laborers. Due to their industry and thrifty habits, they have migrated to the city and have occupied responsible positions on a higher economic level. With this improvement of status have come modifications of the Exclusion Act which allowed Chinese wives of Chinese residents to come to these islands. Thus, with the steady growth of a normal population, the Chinese have built a reputation for themselves. More and more these Orientals are determining their own status, and because of this achievement, they have become more ethnocentric today and do not highly esteem the mixed bloods.

Moreover, the past civilization and philosophy of China had developed a moral code regulating filial conduct, sex desires, observation of dignity and modesty, and restrained behavior, all of which are too exacting, complex, and difficult for the hybrid to assimilate easily. The tolerant and "easy-going" attitude of the Hawaiians, on the other hand, makes it simple for the hybrids to "go-Hawaiian", and to be recognized by this native group. Many of the Part-Hawaiians grow weary of their pointless struggles, finally abandon their fight and join the rank and file of the natives.

Finally, the effects of home influence usually determine the inclinations and desires of the mixed blood. Since the majority of the Chinese who marry Hawaiians or Part-Hawaiians give up, or fail to inculcate Chinese modes of living among their children, we naturally find Hawaiian cultural influence dominating the lives of many hybrids. Moreover, these children are more at home with their Hawaiian mother than with their Chinese father.

A few have secured entrée into the white groups, because of their superior economic position. Their wealth allows them wider social contacts with the Haoles than most Chinese-Hawaiians enjoy. Because of their associations, this class of hybrids consider themselves superior and they look down on both Hawaiian and Chinese mores and customs. These so-called "haolified" hybrids are tolerated by the higher group because of the family's economic position and influence and also because of their "haolified" manners and habits.

Those joining cosmopolitan groups represent another class by themselves. They are individuals who do not desire to affiliate themselves with either one of their parental groups. Moreover these hybrids are generally not sufficiently "haolified" in their manners, speech, and behavior as to be admitted into the life of the Caucasians.

Thus we see the Chinese-Hawaiian hybrids falling chiefly in line with the Hawaiians. In all probability they are happier and more stable in this racial group, and they find more peace because of the abandonment of their struggle. Their accomodations to Hawaiian life are made easier because of the character of their home environment. Moreover they are welcomed most by the natives and regarded highly by them because of their Chinese biological affinity.

o O o

Editor's Note: A majority of the people classified in the Census and Territorial statistics as Asiatic-Hawaiians are of Part-Chinese extraction. The marriage records of the Asiatic-Hawaiians in recent years confirm the thesis presented by Mr. Chow. Of 119 men married during the year 1933-34, 67 married either Caucasian-Hawaiians or Asiatic-Hawaiians. But of those who married "out", 22 selected Hawaiians, while only 14 chose Chinese. A similar selection occurred in the case of the 190 Asiatic-Hawaiian brides during the same year. The largest group of 69 found Part-Hawaiian husbands. Of the remainder, 38 married Hawaiians, and only 14 married Chinese.

ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERMARRIAGE

Leatrice and Marion Wong

As a chemist extracts and analyzes each element in a chemical solution, so does a social scientist define and study each operating factor in a social process. The social process concerned in this study is that of intermarriage in Hawaii, and the factor to be analyzed is that of marriage attitudes toward other races. Do the Japanese follow any definite pattern of preference in intermarriage? What factors determine the Portuguese ranking? These are a few of the questions dealt with in this study.

Questionnaires relevant to the subject were answered by one hundred and fifty students of different races in the University of Hawaii. Findings yielded by the two methods used in compiling the data--the pair comparison and ranking methods--showed a high positive correlation for the Japanese, Chinese, and "Haole"(1) groups, with slight deviations for the Part-Hawaiian and Portuguese groups. (This correspondence may indicate a fair degree of reliability in the results.)

Every group ranked its own the highest, except the Portuguese and Part-Hawaiian. However, no single group obtained a perfect ranking score. The reason universally extended by the students for first choice was that of cultural and racial identity. The Filipinos were invariably rated the lowest due to racial antipathies engendered by the lack of understanding contacts.

THE CHINESE RATINGS (See Table on p.17). Being Chinese themselves, the authors will attempt a fuller, and perhaps more accurate, analysis of the ratings of this group. The Chinese rated his own group first, with the Asiatic-Hawaiian second. The latter is generally considered as Chinese-Hawaiian. If a Chinese-Hawaiian has been nurtured predominantly in a Chinese fashion and bears no marked physical difference, he is spontaneously and naturally welcomed into the Chinese group.

Closely following on the scale of preference and, in fact, occupying the same step interval, came the "Haole" and Haole-Hawaiian. This picture may indicate that the Chinese are rather uncertain about the exact order of their preferences for these groups. Former prejudices have been considerably modified by a continued residence in Hawaii. Frequent contacts, resulting in acculturation and assimilation, have diminished social and cultural distance. The "Haole", by virtue of his superior economic and social status in Hawaii, was ranked favorably.

Although closely resembling the Chinese in physical appearance and culture, the Japanese was ranked relatively low. While the Chinese considers the Japanese sociable, he also feels that the latter is very "cliquish". Even the best of Japanese friends seems desirous to desert a Chinese when he sees a member of his own group. Another influential factor in the low rating of the Japanese is that of home influence. Prejudices of the old generation are transmitted to the younger, some of whom still feel that the Japanese has no

(1) A "Haole" is a white person of North European ancestry.

culture of his own but a poor imitation of Chinese culture. Sino-Japanese relations in the Far East doubtless play a part in intensifying antagonistic relations.

Just below the median rating was the Hawaiian. Why is it that the group into which the Chinese has intermarried the most occupies so low a position on the scale? The first Chinese immigrant, removed from traditional group control and denied feminine company of his own race, welcomed the native woman. However, with the development of a normal sex ratio, occupational succession, and the corresponding factor of increased communal control, the number of out-marriages by the Chinese have declined. (See Romanzo Adams, Race Contacts in Hawaii, I.P.R., 1929, p.7). These factors discourage intermarriage with the Hawaiians. Although the Hawaiians are not in themselves highly preferred by other racial groups, they do act as a magnetic core of intermarriage chiefly through the hybrid.

How was the Portuguese ranked? The low rating reflects the typical Island discrimination against the Portuguese, who has been accorded an inferior economic status, and who is furthermore not classified as a "Haole".

Finally, the pendulum of preference swings from one extremity of intimacy and warmth to the other extremity of distance and distrust, the latter occupied by the Filipino. Being the latest immigrant arrivals, most of the Filipinos still live on the plantation areas. They are least known and understood.

THE JAPANESE RATINGS. Only one out of fifty Japanese answering the questionnaires indicated an out-group member for first choice. This gives the Japanese the highest average for in-marriage preference. The earlier Japanese immigrants did not face as serious a problem of securing wives as the Chinese; hence, fewer out-marriages. Intermarriage encounters highly resistant walls; the intermarrying couple and their offspring are usually ostracized. The Japanese, then, manifests the highest group control over its members.

As contrasted to the relatively low rating given him by the Chinese, the Japanese placed the latter high in the scale of preference. Biologically and culturally, the Japanese feels closer bonds with the Chinese than with any other group. The Chinese status in the Islands is equal to that of the Japanese. Perhaps not a few Japanese were influenced in their second choice by the traditional recognition of China's cultural influence upon their own culture. Besides, opportunities for friendship between these two groups in school are innumerable.

The "Haole" followed closely with a difference of only .55 (See Table). Undoubtedly, the younger generation Japanese, living closely within the milieu of the public school, tends to idealize the culture patterns of the "Haole". Not the "Haole" himself but his status in Hawaii may have been a factor in his favorable rank.

Intermediate zones were occupied by the Part-Hawaiian, followed by the Hawaiian and the Portuguese. The same reasons which prompted the Chinese ratings of these groups probably hold true for the Japanese preferences.

The Filipino, although ethnically similar in many respects to the Japanese, was ranked the lowest. Again, this situation infers that race in itself is not always the determining factor in choice. More thorough findings of the Japanese attitudes by Jitsuichi Masuoka in his Race Preference in Hawaii (Unpublished manuscript), reveal that "the Filipino received the lowest rating by girls, but was placed above the Porto-Rican by the boys. The lower ranking by the girls may perhaps be explained in terms of the sex conduct of the Filipinos in Hawaii. The excessively high proportion of males in the Filipino group in the Islands serves as a fruitful source for the myth of sex danger from Filipinos."

THE HAOLE RATINGS. Statistics of the "Haole" ratings showed a distinct negative reaction toward the Oriental groups, while the Part-Hawaiian and the Portuguese groups occupied the more favorable end of the continuum of scale values. The typical "Haole" would not consider marrying an Oriental because it would mean a lowering of his social status. He clings to the traditional idea of unconquerable differences between the Oriental and Caucasian. He believes that the Oriental has strange customs and an inscrutable way of thinking. The Portuguese was rated fourth despite the fact that he is most closely related racially to the "Haole". What factors operate in determining the "Haole's" attitude toward the Portuguese? The "Haole", too, is imbued with Hawaii's peculiar discrimination. On the other hand, the "Haole" new-comer generally does not differentiate between the two; the Portuguese is to him, a white man. However, the longer he lives in the Islands, the more susceptible he is to this prejudice.

THE PORTUGUESE RATINGS. The Portuguese accorded the "Haole" the highest rank. Prevailing prejudices make the Portuguese more anxious to achieve "Haole" status. Marriage into that group constitutes the principal avenue of escape from the present discriminatory classification. "Within a few generations--the Portuguese will disappear through amalgamation and the amalgamation will be mainly with "Other Caucasians.". . . The pure Portuguese will go the way of the pure Hawaiian and for the same cause." Romanzo Adams, Race Contacts in Hawaii, I.P.R., 1929, pp.6-7.)

The Part-Hawaiian and Hawaiian groups with which the Portuguese mingle freely were rated highly. On the other hand, the Chinese and Japanese, because of their aggressiveness and the dissimilarity of culture, occupied the unfavorable end, together with the Filipino.

THE PART-HAWAIIAN RATINGS. For the hybrid, "the ideal, the center of gravity. . . is outside himself. The ideal of beauty, of success, of all that is good and desirable is typified by the superior race." Thus, the Chinese-Hawaiian prefers to identify himself with the Chinese, and the "Haole"-Hawaiian with the "Haole". Failing to attain the objective these bi-racial and bi-cultural personalities resign themselves to a lower status with the other parental group or with their own hybrid group for second choice. The Hawaiian group occupied in this case an intermediate position.

RANKING CORRELATION FOR METHODS 1 AND 2 (1)

RACES RATING	METHOD	Chinese		Japanese		RACES RANKED Haole		Port.		Asiatic-Hawaiian		Haole-Hawaiian		Hawaiian		Filipino	
		Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank
Chinese (42 cases)	1	6.90	1	3.30	5	4.21	4	1.26	7	4.64	2	4.62	3	2.57	6	.12	8
	2	1.02	1	4.39	5	3.93	4	6.74	7	3.13	2	3.79	3	4.67	6	7.86	8
Japanese (49 cases)	1	5.00	2	6.96	1	4.45	3	1.39	7	3.68	5	3.98	4	2.19	6	.08	8
	2	2.40	2	1.00	1	3.52	3	6.58	7	4.46	5	4.38	4	5.76	6	7.90	8
Haole (37 cases)	1	2.41	6	1.65	7	6.94	1	3.49	4	3.19	5	5.76	2	4.27	3	.08	8
	2	5.73	6	7.11	7	1.00	1	4.24	4	4.89	5	2.35	2	3.62	3	7.89	8
Portuguese (6)	1	2.16	6	2.00	7	6.16	1	5.83	2	3.67	4	4.50	3	3.00	5	.00	8
	2	5.67	6	6.33	7	1.67	1.5	1.67	1.5	4.50	4	3.00	3	5.16	5	8.00	8
Asiatic-Hawaiian (6)	1	6.16	1	2.33	6	3.50	4	1.65	7	5.83	2	5.00	3	3.16	5	.00	8
	2	2.00	1.5	5.33	6	5.00	5	6.67	7	2.00	1.5	3.00	3	4.00	4	8.00	8
Haole-Hawaiian (7 cases)	1	2.00	6	1.00	7	6.28	2	3.00	5	4.57	3	6.47	1	4.28	4	.15	8
	2	5.57	6	7.14	7	1.43	1	5.14	5	3.28	3	1.71	2	3.86	4	4.71	8

(1) The Pair Comparison was used in Method 1. The perfect attainable score in any one group is 7, with the descending value indicating lesser preference.
The Rank Method was used in Method 2. In this case, the smaller numerical value indicates stronger preference.

THE MARGINAL MAN IN HAWAII

Everett V. Stonequist

When two or more races and nationalities meet and live in a common territory under a single political and economic system, a series of profound changes, biological as well as cultural, are set in motion. At first, race relations assume a predominantly symbiotic or economic character, but with further time and acquaintance more intimate social relations develop. These include the mixing of blood and the transfer of culture. The trend of change is toward the dominant race and culture. If sufficient time is allowed a new racial stock and a new culture eventually arise out of this contact and interaction.

The processes of biological amalgamation and cultural assimilation do not proceed at equal speeds, nor do they embrace all persons to the same degree. Some individuals advance faster than others; they are pioneers in a racial and cultural sense. They may be of mixed blood, but they are always of mixed culture. Their advanced position exposes them to the higher temperatures of the "melting-pot"; in fact, the clash of cultures becomes a vital problem for them, more or less controlling the evolution of their personalities. As pioneers in the process of fusion, they live on the margins of two groups, and so are termed "marginal men."

The marginal person lives in two social worlds--sometimes three or even more in Hawaii. If he is of mixed race his very physical appearance usually indicates his bi-racial or multi-racial origin. Perhaps in his family life and traditions the diversity of cultural backgrounds operate in the conditioning of his personality traits. At a youthful age he becomes conscious of his diverse inheritance. In proportion as there are social distances and racial prejudices in the community he experiences these as personal problems. Where does he belong? To which racial group? Is he inferior because he is mixed? Just what is the significance of being mixed in race? Such questions may become of determining importance in shaping the flow of his thoughts, his deeper feelings about himself, and the direction of his social contacts and ambitions.

Race biologists are not agreed concerning the significance of race mixture. The race sociologist views the problem as primarily social and cultural. If the mixed person so often is supersensitive and self-conscious, harassed by uncertainty and inferiority feelings, and perplexed about his conduct and social relationships, the answer is to be found in the conflict of our social arrangements, rather than in the disharmony of the genes.

This hypothesis is not merely speculative. It seems to fit the facts. One method of check is to compare mixed races in various parts of the world. If in Hawaii, for example, the part-Hawaiians have made such good records, does it not reflect the relatively good opportunities and tolerance which exist here?(1)

Another check is to compare the situation of the "cultural hybrid" who is not a racial hybrid--particularly the children of

---

(1) The interested reader will find a fuller discussion of this subject, as well as the general theory of the marginal man, in a forthcoming volume.

immigrants who are assimilating a culture sharply different from their parents. In Hawaii the comparisons are ready at hand. The second generation Oriental, in particular, is in a marginal situation. He becomes Americanized in his school, play and work contacts, while in his family life he receives the influence of the ancestral culture. To which culture does he belong? And what is his status in the community? Many will echo the statement of a second generation Japanese: "We are not good Japanese in the eyes of our parents, and the Americans do not believe we are really Americans! Just what are we?" One notes that this situation--like that of the mixed blood--also produces dilemmas in conduct, a heightened self-consciousness and sensitiveness concerning racial status, and ambivalent moods and sentiments, varying in intensity according to the character of the individual's experience.

The problem should be viewed in terms of age and individual experience. The play-groups and the school-rooms of Hawaii are a period when race unconsciousness is the general rule. Here the "melting-pot" functions naturally and spontaneously. The prejudices of the adult world have not disturbed the racial democracy of the young people--except perhaps implicitly through separation by means of devices like the private school and selected residence. But the widening range of social contacts which come with adolescence brings about a consciousness of race which is quite disturbing. Premature encounters with race barriers hasten this race consciousness, but in any case the problem of making a career will eventually intrude itself and focus the attention upon the significance of the racial stratification.

What is the special character of the marginal person in Hawaii? The subject is too complex to describe here in detail. It involves an analysis of the peculiar system of race relations which has arisen in the Islands.

In a summary manner, Hawaii's system of race relations appears to be dual in nature: it contains a pattern of equality and friendliness, and a pattern of inequality and prejudice. The former is a product of the historic relationship between white man and Hawaiian; that of inequality emerged around the economic, political and social changes instituted by the plantation system during the latter part of the 19th century. Largely out of this system, with its importations of immigrant laborers, developed a hierarchy of races with white Americans in control.

The pattern of race equality is visible in the public relations of the various races and the correlated social etiquette, in the legal freedom of racial intermarriage, in the absence of a code of segregation such as may be found in the Southern United States, and in the local political traditions and institutions. The pattern of inequality is evident in the plantation system and the general economic and cultural predominance of the white population, in the social exclusiveness of the established white community and the surviving mores of the various races, and it is significantly implicit in the persisting territorial status of the Islands including their special relationship with Mainland public opinion as regards race relations.

The intricacy of this system is not apparent to the casual observer, and it is not clearly in the consciousness of many of the inhabitants. Race consciousness and prejudice are not open and public in Hawaii, and they are partly neutralized or driven underground by a real measure of equality and friendliness. But each race--some much more strongly than others--seeks to maintain a separate social life, marry within itself, and favor its members. The controlling position of the Nordic Americans, or haoles, is particularly important, for they not only possess overwhelming economic power, but also represent American civilization and symbolize American control of the Islands. The other racial groups are thus responding primarily to American cultural values. But here the dilemmas arise. Assimilation, or Americanization, proceeds successfully to the degree that no barriers of race impede the movement. The equality must be real and thorough-going. The feeling of many persons in Hawaii that the white American is favored here--that those of darker hue, particularly Orientals, can advance just so far, creates disillusionment and throws the individual back upon his own group. And then some Americans wonder why Americanization is not proceeding more swiftly! Thus the second generation Orientals must often contend with the restrictive attitudes of two groups: their parents who may view with much concern their rapid Americanization; and those haoles who urge Americanization and yet draw a subtle line beyond which their hospitality cools.

The problem of the Japanese second generation is more difficult than that of the Chinese: they are, on the average, more recently established and consequently less Americanized; their larger numbers render them more conspicuous to the public; and they feel the repercussions of the strains in the relations of Japan and the United States. Each racial group in Hawaii has a different position, and the marginal members of each reflect this difference.

It is out of the dual pattern indicated above that the chief problems of the marginal persons arise, whether these are conceived in terms of social contacts and intermarriage, or in political and economic adjustment. Some are acutely aware of their anomalous position, and highly sensitive to the concealed barriers. These are the more Americanized ("haolified") and ambitious individuals. Some accommodate themselves philosophically, satisfied with their measure of success, and even appreciative of those opportunities which Hawaii offers. Some (if of Oriental descent) go to their ancestral lands where their racial differences are not a problem--although this is not a solution for those who become so Americanized that as children they did not learn the mother-tongue. Many believe that present barriers will gradually give way and that the rapid rate of intermarriage and acculturation will produce a new Hawaiian race having a somewhat distinctive culture. If and as this develops, the marginal man--the racial hybrid as well as the cultural hybrid-- will become the dominant group in numbers. Assuming that external interference and local economic crises can be averted, the future Hawaii will then be based upon this intermediate group which is now viewed as a problem.

OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESSION ON THE PLANTATION

Clarence C. Robinson
Vocational Director, Honolulu Y.M.C.A

Wherever foreign capital and enterprise enter a land of open resources and undeveloped territory, such as Hawaii was in the early eighties, social problems of the gravest type invariably come into being. This is true not only with the native population, and the adventuring capitalists themselves, but equally with each succeeding wave of labor-immigration, as it is brought in, to work the fields and manufacture or otherwise prepare the produce for shipment and market. No thought whatever seems to be given by the exploiter of resources as to the effect of his adventure on the health, marriage-mores, political organization or race relations of the people involved. Only as one of these social forces gets in his way, does he pay any attention. When such forces oppose him he bowls them over temporarily or makes the best adjustment he can, always with the stability of the industry and the profits to himself and his backers as the primary and usually the sole motive. The early stages of development in plantation or other such organization are usually inclined to be somewhat ruthless. Problems are created herein, which takes decades and sometimes centuries to solve.

Plantation Pioneering. Although sandalwood and the whaling industry played important roles in the early contacts of Hawaii with the rest of the world, in the main the economic life of the Islands is written in sugar, and the story of sugar in the development of the plantations. The group of early pioneers of the sugar industry in Hawaii were both international and inter-racial, and included Hawaiians who probably brought the cane from other South Sea islands in early immigrations, a Chinese adventurer, a Spanish agriculturist, a clergyman's son from Germany, an Italian, an English planter, a shipwrecked Irish sailor, several American business men, a Norwegian gentleman seeking health, a California farmer, an American physician, the captain of a New England whaling ship, American missionaries and several sons of missionaries.

Sugar cane in several varieties was found by Captain James Cook on his discovery visit. (1778)

A Chinese brought a stone mill and boiler to Hawaii and made a brief attempt to manufacture sugar in 1802.

Sugar was successfully made by the Spanish agriculturist de Paula Marin in 1819.

Sugar was made in Honolulu by Lavinia, an Italian, by beating cane on boards which the natives used for pounding poi, a favorite Hawaiian food. (1823)

The first large scale cultivation was by an Englishman, John Wilkinson (1825).

The first permanent effort was made by an American firm, Ladd & Company (1835)

The industry was stimulated by the gold rush to California creating a "nearer" market. (1849)

The Civil War in the United States increased the demand for Hawaiian sugar and the industry began for the first time to thrive. (1861)

The greatest step in advance for the sugar plantation and affiliated interests came in the reciprocity treaty between the United

States and the Hawaiian Kingdom, allowing island sugar to enter the states duty free. (1875)(1)

From the start of the industry, about 1825 to 1850, native labor was depended upon primarily. The natives would work for themselves, but they did not like the plantation work. The Hawaiians themselves had developed many laborious irrigation systems prior to the white man's arrival. But while the native Hawaiian worked diligently and successfully to support a large population, on a stone-age basis of civilization, he would not and apparently could not work white man's hours nor with white man's methods.(2) Every kind of inducement and pressure were tried including cooperating with the native chiefs, but the attempt to use native labor on the growing plantations resulted, on the whole, in disappointment. Early in 1850 King Kamehameha attempted without success to bring all the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island to Hawaii as laborers. Ten South Sea Islanders, brought in an American schooner, hired out to one of the original plantations.

In 1864 the Hawaiian government under King Kamehameha V created a Bureau of Immigration which set to work to supply the needs of labor on the plantations, 86 Micronesians, 615 Norwegians, some Germans, 365 Galicians and one group of 14 American farmers and their families (to work a profit-sharing system) all appeared on the scene during subsequent years, but did not remain to become a permanent labor contribution. At one time there were as many as 2056 Russians brought in but, like the rest, they either drifted to other work or left the Islands.

The substantial labor groups who made long time contributions to the Hawaiian sugar industry, and otherwise to the economic life of the Islands, have been the Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese and Filipinos, together with smaller numbers of Koreans, Spanish and Porto Ricans. In a general way they have succeeded each other but with a deal of overlapping. Each of these racial or national groups has not only remained in Hawaii but has found a place for itself and made a distinct addition to the population, the wealth and culture of the Islands.

Although now dominated by Island residents of American origin, Hawaiian sugar is the product of the brains, the initiative and the persistent labor of many national and racial stocks.

Plantation Dominance. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association boasts that seven-tenths of the income of the islands comes from sugar, that 53,000 persons are now employed by the 40 plantations of the islands; that 107,000 persons are directly dependent on the plantations for their livelihood. They also take satisfaction in the fact that they have not discharged workers during the depression but were employing in 1934 more than in 1930, a unique situation in American industry.

Some of the plantations have been obliged to pass dividends, but

(1) Story of Sugar in Hawaii--Hawaiian Sugar Planter's Association, 1929, pp.10-11.
(2) Estimates put the population as high as 300,000 at the time of Cook's discovery in 1778.

they claim never to have passed a pay day. Vast sums of money are spent each year in agricultural and other technical experimentation. Naturally such a situation requiring capital, labor, technical research and cooperative shipping and marketing has resulted in close control. Five large companies of the factor type handle the business of the plantations and many other Island enterprises, performing for the industries the functions of financing, factor-providing, shipping, marketing and cooperation in research and experimentation.

This domination is in the hands of Caucasians who, outside the personnel of the army and navy, constitute only about 7% of the population. There is, therefore some feeling expressed, that though succeeding waves of peoples have come to Hawaii to work in the major industry, the Caucasian has been and is reaping the big rewards. Others cite the general prosperity of the Islands and the satisfactory outcome of the controversy with the agricultural administration in Washington, and the widespread advantages coming to all racial elements of the population through intelligent cooperative control.

Racial Opportunity. Complaint is frequently heard that only Caucasians reach the coveted 15% of preferred positions on the plantations. In the past that has doubtless been true, but a somewhat encouraging trend has appeared of late whereby members of other races than Caucasians are attaining a minimum number of the higher class jobs. Here before me is a record made in a conference with the manager of one of the moderate sized plantations employing 500 men. The manager, assistant manager, camp doctor and office manager are Caucasians, but a Japanese appears as civil engineer and another as his assistant. One store manager is Chinese, another is Portuguese, the irrigation overseer and the electrician are Japanese. There are two section overseers, one Caucasian and the other Japanese. The office cashier is Japanese as is the nurse in the doctor's office.

Here is another chart a composite of some six plantations. Again the manager and his chief assistant are in each case Caucasian, also the doctors and the office managers, but a head overseer is Portuguese, an agriculturist a Japanese, a statistician Japanese, store manager Chinese and another Japanese. An electrical engineer is Portuguese, civil engineer Japanese, assistant civil engineer and surveyor Japanese, mill superintendent Caucasian-Hawaiian, assistant mill engineer Portuguese, master electrician a Filipino, dairy manager Japanese, a welfare worker Chinese and another a Filipino; a sugar boiler is Hawaiian and an assistant agriculturist Japanese. Here is a section overseer that is Asiatic-Hawaiian and another Caucasian-Hawaiian.

These are all preferred positions and all are in, or approach closely, the 15% of preferred jobs. One manager of a plantation employing 1800 men told us that only four positions were considered strictly held to Caucasian employes. This of course means that although numerically the other racial groups do not have an equitable chance at the better positions, the doors are opening rapidly and merit is being given the best chance has it ever had on Hawaiian plantations, and perhaps better than in any other sugar plantation situation in the world.

Another potent factor in economic opportunity in Hawaii resides in the cessation of labor immigration. No accessions have come from China and Japan since 1907. With Philippine independence an assured fact, only a negligible handful of Filipinos can be admitted unless conditions should change and the Department of the Interior should give permission to bring in laborers from the Philippines for some emergency. This means that for field labor, semi-skilled and skilled positions, employers must look for the first time to citizen labor. This surely involves a gradual changing of hours of labor, housing improvement and more just promotion policies, to attract and hold the better educated and usually ambitious youths to work which for seventy-five years has depended strictly on fresh importations of labor.

That the economic leaders fully realize the meaning of this situation is evidenced in the fact that they have been encouraging older boys and young men with citizen status to enter the plantation employment in recent years. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association reports a yearly increase of citizens employed since 1932. The monthly average of citizens employed in 1932 was 8,568; in 1933, 10,978, and in 1934, 12,262. Some of these recruits are high school graduates or technically trained young men but the majority are reported to be intermediate school graduates; mostly sons of employes or those living in the country near the plantations. A considerable number are Oriental boys, graduates of agricultural courses in the public schools.

Of the four major labor groups, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Filipino, the Chinese are now largely eliminated from the plantation. They are in the importing trade, in control of many small stores, engaged in market gardening and in the professions. The Japanese, having the largest group, 140,000 in 1930, are in every kind of trade, business and industry known to the Islands and they are still to be found in large numbers on the plantations in every job, from field labor to engineering and scientific agriculture. The Portuguese are similarly distributed, though not quite as extensively so. In 1933 the Filipinos in the Islands were thus distributed: H.S.P.A. plantations 34,301; independent plantations 2932; pineapple work 2334; coffee 731; rice-taro-vegetables 278; dairying and ranching 112; gardening 221; store work 350 and 1370 miscellaneous.(1)

How large a share of the plantation work was done by Filipinos, Japanese and Portuguese in 1932 is indicated by the following table:(2)

Men Employed on Sugar Plantations	1932
Hawaiian & Part-Hawaiian	615
Portuguese	2,022
Porto Rican	797
Spanish	90
"Other Caucasian"	900
Chinese	706
Japanese	9,395
Korean	442
Filipino	34,915
All others	65
Total	49,947

(1) H. S. P. A. Report, March, 1933
(2) R. Adams, The Peoples of Hawaii, 1933, p.36

That the Caucasians, Chinese and Japanese have made the most satisfactory adjustments by far is indicated in the following table showing how the population groups were affected by the unemployment crisis which reached the Islands early in 1932.

RACIAL BACKGROUND OF 2584 APPLICANTS AT THE GOVERNOR'S EMPLOYMENT OFFICE IN 1932 WITH PER CENT ABOVE OR BELOW EACH GROUP'S NORMAL OCCUPATIONAL QUOTA.

Group	Percent of Male Wage Earners Honolulu, U.S. Census 1930	Percent of 2584 Applicants	An't times their quota
Hawaiian & Pt. Haw'n	12.1	21.7	1.8
Portuguese	7.8	14.4	1.8
Porto Rican	1.2	9.6	8.0
Spanish	0.3	1.4	4.6
Other Caucasians	27.2	10.0	0.36
Japanese	30.1	17.4	0.57
Chinese	13.6	6.6	0.48
Korean	1.6	4.1	2.5
Filipino	5.7	13.2	2.3
All others	0.3	0.8	2.6

Dr. Romanzo Adams summarizes the occupational succession excellently in his statement in The Peoples of Hawaii--"Their present economic and social status depends largely on their length of residence in the Islands. Those who came first have had a longer time to learn the English language, to become familiar with things Hawaiian and American generally, to get into the preferred occupations and to accumulate property."

THE LIFE HISTORY OF A PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANT[1]

Hideko Sasaki

Yesterday, make fifty-one years since I come to Hawaii. I sit down and think all what happen since I come here, but I think more of my home, Azores. I am glad you ask me to tell all about me, because each time this anniversary come, I like tell somebody about all what happened to me up till today.

I was born in Punta Dagalda, San Miguel, Azores, in 1874. Punta Dagalda means Point of Dagalda and San Miguel is one of the nine islands of Azores.

Idealization of the Homeland. Our village was very, very old. How old, no one can tell. Plenty villages along the sea beach, but we no pay attention to others, only us. Punta Dagalda was very clean. We had plenty of tall trees all along the road. Both sides of the road had oranges and lemon trees. Some places, people have fig, olive and grapes. Plenty to eat and nobody too poor to buy food if they work. The rich man and the poor man, everybody happy.

Climate in Azores is good. People speak Hawaii climate good, but no can beat Azores, especially San Miguel. The sun come from the sea and set in the sea. When stormy wind come, the fisherman all come home and the fisherman family all happy, because everybody worry like anything if they stay on the sea.

Role of His Relatives in the Azores. My father worked for his Uncle. He worked from early in the morning till late in the night. This uncle, very rich man. He own all the land and made good money with his oranges and lemons. He sell his fruits to some men in Portugal, England and sometimes they go to Brazil. My mother stay home work hard. She was good dressmaker and sew to earn money to buy us clothes. My mother always said it was no fair for the uncle to work my father and she told my father, we better go some place.

San Miguel is one good place for everybody happy, but poor man work hard. Rich man children all go to school. My grandmother was teacher, but her daughter marry farmer so her children belong to poor class. Everybody in the poor class no go to school.

The rich men had hot house. They grow pineapple and pretty flowers in this glass house. Gee! the pineapple big like anything. We go around and peep inside this glass house. I never care for the rich people. I use to think them rich because they born rich. This rich people get big land or they get plenty fishing boats and the poor man work for them. They think us just like nothing and think so long we just work and work, everything was all right with us. ...

---

(1) This is a life history of a Portuguese immigrant who came to Hawaii nearly 52 years ago. It is a simple story in the man's language telling of the average immigrant's struggle for economic status in Hawaii. This case study was submitted as a term paper in a sociology course "Personality and Culture" taught by Dr. E.T.Thompson.

Christmas time, is one time, I like best. Christmas Eve, we all go church. We all get new clothes. When we go inside, we kids sit down, shut our eyes and pray. The naughty boys pinch each other and giggle and play. I never understand what the priest say, but my mother always tell us what he said. She, every time, say that he said that bad boys going get punished some day, but my brother say that my mother make up because us naughty. The next day, we no exchange presents like today, but we get oranges, olives, etc., and go call on friends. The men folks get their guitars and go one place and another place and serenade. The kids all pile up one corner and play cards. Sometimes we fight, but we waste time that way, because all the children get good licking when we get home.

Cause of Emigration. My father worked hard every day and when he was forty-one, he told my mother it was no use work and work. My mother never like the Uncle and she said we better go to Brazil because many people was going there. My father said Brazil was no good because yellow fever killed everybody and Brazil was a very bad and dangerous place.

I don't know what happen after that, but every night my father take me with him to go see some friends. They talk for a long time and everytime they say, "Terra Nova, go Terra Nova." I was only nine but I knew what "Terra Nova" mean. I know my father was planning to go to "Terra Nova" or Hawaii. Of course, I don't know where Hawaii was but my mother said that was some place across the sea. She said this place was where plenty of Portuguese was going and get own land and get money to send children to school.

I think it was fun and all the kids around us plan what to take. My father and mother sold all the things in the house. One day my father went to one rich man's house and he signed papers. His Uncle come and said, "John, you crazy go 'Terra Nova.' The people just like wild animals. They going eat you up." My father was anyway disgusted with my Uncle so he no pay attention.

Early one morning, we see the German steamer "Albergeldie" in Punta Dagalda. We glad like anything. Everybody I know went on the boat. All my friends were on the boat so I no care about leaving San Miguel. When everything was put on the boat, the people get together and talk and talk. By and by, the steamer start to go and I see my mother crying but she told my father, "May be, we going be more happy in 'Terra Nova'. My father only nod. He was thinking. My brother said that our Uncle was a bad man so he no can go on the boat with us.

The Portuguese all good sailors and so nobody got sea-sick. First thing you know, they get their guitars, harmonicas and everybody got good time. Some old ladies cry; we glad and so we cry....

Arrival in Honolulu. On May 10, 1883, we reached Honolulu. There was 264 men, 195 women and 453 children. Everybody dance and hug each other when we come inside the port. My mother was crying and she said to my father, "John, just like San Miguel, no?" My father never said anything but I know he was glad too. One man come around and my father signed two papers. By and by, the man take us to a boat and told my father he was going to a more better place. This steamer was small and rock like anything.

We stay two days on the steamer and it was just like in Azores because they get islands all around us. We get to Hilo and the steamer stop by Waiakea River. . . . .

Plantation Life. Very next day, my father went to work in the cane fields. He come home tired but happy. He said he worried about us because we don't know the people and the new place. My father was "hoe-hana" man in the cane field and he said he was going to get good pay.

We went to live in the long house in Camp 4. There was six families in this long house. One Portuguese family stayed next to us and we come good friends. We never pay attention to the other families. This family next to us came with us, so we good friends. My father cut a door in the wall and the children can go between the two "apartments" easily. The kitchen was outside and the floor was dirt. When it rain, we were like ducks in the mud. My father used to pity my mother, but everybody was the same. Everything was new and so my mother never grumble. We sleep on "stick-beds", just like bench. My father and mother and my sister sleep in one room. Us three boys sleep in the other room. No furniture, only one table and the beds.

My father get $9 the first month and later he got $18. With the first money, he pay our bill and buy some chair for the house. My father work hard and so my mother work too. She washed and sewed for the "single man" folks. She get about $10 one month and with this money she buy our clothes and some things for the house. But we never cared because we get plenty to eat and everybody was good to us.

Little by little, the Japanese come. Everytime a green bunch come, the Portuguese go help them fix the house. The Portuguese smart. They know the Japanese get good "sake" and if they help, they all get good drink. Our camp, the Portuguese and Japanese all good friends. No fights anytime. They all like family and early in the morning on the way to work we hear them say, "Jo-san, o-ha-yo", (meaning, "Joe, Good morning").

Struggle for Economic Status. When I was ten, I went to the fields-hoe-hana. I get $8 a month. First time, I first hate the job, hot, dirty and very uncomfortable. Later on, I make some friends, then everything was all right. Next, I come "water-boy". I go around everybody and give water. I sit down and talk and talk. I talk too much and the "luna" say, "John, you loafer, shake-a-leg." All the time I watch the big men drive mules. I like drive mules but my father said I was too young and mules no like the young boys.

One day, I get tired with the "water-boy" job. I see the manager and so I went up to him and said, "Say, Mr._____, I like drive mules." He look at me and said, "All right you small boy, you get the job." That night, I no can sleep. Next morning, I get up early and go to the stable and first thing I see the stable boss. I say

to him, "The manager never tell you anything?" he said, "Oh! He did say something about a job for one Portuguese boy. This boy, you?" I nod my head and was glad for he went for the mules right away. I work hard that day. My father said if the mules work or me the one that did the plowing. That night, I no can sleep again. I was happy because no small kid get that kind job in those days. My mother said I talk like anything in my sleep and she said that I kick my feet and yell "Gi-dap."

By the time I was seventeen, I was doing big man job. I get the biggest plow of the plantation. I get $10 one month. When the pay day come, my mother glad and she go down the market and buy one big fish.

I get up 5:00 A.M. I eat my breakfast, usually coffee and bread, the kind of bread the Japanese used to call "stone-bread." After that I go to the stable and fix up the mules. Twenty to six, I take the mules to the field. I begin work at six sharp. We "pau" work 4:00 P.M. I go home, eat, bathe and the family and neighbors talk and talk. My father folks, they talk about Azores and they wonder what so and so is doing now.

Saturdays, everybody work till half-past two. The boss give us the time off early because, we had to go for firewood. Now days, the trucks bring wood for the people, but in our times, we go get them ourself. Friday night, the family talk about where they going meet after work Saturday, so everybody can go together to get wood. The Japanese neighbors see me sometimes and they say, "John san, a-shi-ta, ni-ji-han, de." This mean that tomorrow was Saturday and so work was "pau" at half past two.

I like the Japanese very much. They invite me to their parties and everytime, I sing for them. I sing Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese and Spanish songs. I play my harmonica and my accordion. When I stop or "pau" play, the people all shout, "John san, some more all right."

All the time I was working, every Sunday, I go to one camp three miles away to see some friends. These people come with us but the children was born here. I go play with the boys but every time I go, I see the daughter. I look at her and she look at me. But her parents very strict, so we never get the chance to talk. One day, I talk to my mother and told her, I like marry that girl. My mother said it was good because I was twenty-two. I talk to the girl's father and he was very happy, because we was good family friends. Even if we engaged, we no can sit together. The father or mother around us. She sit in one corner and I sit in one corner. . .

On May 23, 1896, Saturday afternoon, I was 22 and I was married to the young girl who was only 16. We married in the Hilo Church. I don't know what the priest was saying, but anyway, I was happy. After we leave the church, the two family and some good friends come to my house and we had supper. Every one say and danced. . . . .

My wife and I think O_____ Sugar Company was more better so we move to that plantation. I get job as cable hoister. This cable hoister gets the cane and dump them in the flume. This job was dangerous and my wife say more better I ask for different job. Next I get job as luna of warehouse. I give tools and check when they come back. I like the job because I work with all kinds of folks.

All this time I went to night school. We pay one dollar a month for the lesson. A Portuguese man who can speak and write English was our teacher. This man was a luna and he come every night to one fellow's house and we get special room like school. I don't care to write, I like learn to read. I read like anything. I like the story and games the books get. I never care to write.

Later on, the warehouse boss, give me job to drive wagon to town to get tool, mail, etc. When I deliver or get goods, I got to sign. I don't know how to sign my name so I put big cross in the corner of paper. By and by, the boss said, "John, what is the matter? You go to night school and you read but you no can write even you name." I feel shame so that day, I make special trip to Hilo and buy me a tablet and pencil. I go home and practice A B C. That night, I practice only my name. The teacher tease me because I was stubborn before and now I like learn how to write.

The boss say, "John, I give you one acre and half cane. You cultivate that and see what you can do." I was glad because that cane was Lahaina cane, the best cane in the territory. That cane is soft, juicy and plenty of sugar. My wife and I work together and we glad because the cane grew like anything. When harvest time come, we find the rats ate everything. Mongoose very few those day and the rats sure knew that I had good cane so we never made any money on that cane. We learned a good lesson.

In 1909, the manager gave me 12 acres land between the school and the sea. I get five men. I was the head and we work hard. In 1911, we cut the first crop and the cane was good, but the scale man at the mill was a robber and he cheated us. We hardly make any money. One of the man was so disgusted he pack up and left the plantation and went to Honolulu. Very hard to work with some men. People don't think and do the job I want them to do. That is what I call "hard-heads." Some times I need "kokua-men" (helpers) and I go to the Japanese. They say, "Do-ko," and I say "He place." They quickly say, "5,6 men ya-ru, yo," meaning "five or six men I give or get."

The second crop was cut and we divided the money. One man owe me $50 but he ran away to Honolulu. I was mad, but I knew God was with me. My brother join us the next time.

One Sunday morning, I get up early and cut the 12 acres into four lots. I write on piece of paper the number and we draw lots. I get the place near the school. So I said, "Everybody all right? If not I change with you." We all like our lots and so we all worked hard because it was his own. My wife work with me. She sing like anything and boy! we get the fun.

Around 1918, sugar was high. That year, I get about 63 to 65 tons of sugar. I got $17.50 for every ton and got $800 bonus. I feel rich.

My mother used to write to her mother in Azores but I was never interested in the letters and don't remember what she use to write. Only sometimes, my mother laughs because she said that my grandmother say the people are going to eat us up. After my grandmother died we never hear anything about our family or friends in Azores...

All the time, we keep a fat cow. She give about eighteen quarts of milk each time. We sell milk and also give the milk to our children. My wife get about twenty-five dollars a month that way and she said that was plenty to buy food and send children to go to school.

Some times, my wife help in the cane field and she tell the kids to get grass for the cow. The children had to stay away from school and they ask the teacher if they can go for grass and the teacher say, "That cow make me sick." Later on the children began to study the cows and the teacher ask Lina to bring cow to school. So our cow went to school and the kids feed the cow for one month and sold the milk for us. That cow sure help the family expense.

I think that if we stay in Azores we no get this kind life. Everyone happy here. In San Miguel, we stay farmers as long as we live, but I know that my children not going to be plantation workers. That is one thing I am glad I come here.

In 1927, I go to San Francisco for vacation. I see my daughter and the big house which we bought and sold later. It was too big anyway. I go to San Leandro to see my Portuguese friends. I stay with old family. This man is night watchman for a match factory. This man come to Hawaii with us, but he no like plantation work and go to California. He say the pay small and he like come back to Hawaii some day. I come back from San Francisco and I feel good. I like Hawaii and I even like Honolulu now. When I come back, I see the tall buildings and the big steamers, I think how different everything is. Well, everything got to change some day. We never stay the same.

TYPES OF JAPANESE MARRIAGES IN HAWAII

Amy Akinaka

In Japan, marriage has been considered inevitable by both sexes. Girls were taught early to cook, sew, read and write, and to know in general the duties of the wife and mother. The girls married soon after they were sixteen. The parents and relatives of the girl showed much anxiety in the early preparation of her trousseau.

A marriage in Japan was a matter decided by the family and not by the young people themselves. It was not a question of affection but of religious duty and filial piety. The purpose and function of marriage was to perpetuate ancestor worship. Marriage was brought about by a civil contract. This was done by transferring the name of the bride to the register of the groom's family or vice versa in the case of adoption. The wedding ceremony was the pronouncement of the effective union of the couple which relatives came to celebrate in an elaborate feast.

The first generation Japanese in Hawaii have carried over many of the customs of old Japan. But the members of the second generation have formed new tastes and acquired new attitudes as a result of living in the same community with American people. The young Japanese are apt to like the American freedom better than the Japanese reserve. However, since parental influence differs in every home, there are various types of behavior patterns which have emerged. There are (1. the typical old fashioned Japanese, (2. the "haolefied" individuals who follow the American ways of living, and (3. the intermediate persons who do things in both Japanese and American ways.

The great majority of the young Japanese are probably in the last category. They are still under the influence of the older generation to such an extent that at crucial points, such as marriage, they accept and follow the traditional pattern. Consideration of the parents and honor of the family win at such times, even though at other times the young person may be an individualist. The following is an example of a compromise marriage:

> Mrs. D. of K. said, "I met Mr. D. at a dance. He liked me and took me out quite regularly once or twice a week. Before we knew it we were in love. My parents did not approve of my going out because I was very young. People in my neighborhood thought I was a naughty girl. I could not understand my mother's disapproval, nor could she understand my behavior. I had a picture of Mr. D. and when asked who it was told her that it was the picture of my favorite movie actor. Soon Mr. D. and I decided we were going to marry. To make matters as pleasing as possible to my parents we secured "go-betweens" and were married at an "o-tera". (Japanese altar) The go-betweens just took part in the ceremony but were not responsible for our marriage."

Marriage among the Japanese in Hawaii is changing gradually. One does not often see the "go-between" bustling about looking for a prospective husband or wife. And at weddings they form only an atmosphere--a touch of solemnity. They are only a necessary feature to appease the family's desire for a symbol of the old authority and sanctions. The role of the go-between, once an essential part in the formation of a new family, is waning. Romantic love and courtship is gaining ground. Marriage is fast becoming a relationship between the two individuals concerned.

The large number of second generation Japanese who are of marriageable age today have spent their early years in American schools where they were taught the American ideals of freedom--freedom particularly to select a life work and a life mate. The movies, the radio, and everyday observation have shown them that the American marriage requires the courtship and dating technique. Novels glorify romance and love at first sight.

The following is a case of an American style marriage. These people have broken away from the old family traditions and customs.

> "Mr. and Mrs. X have been married 5 years. Their marriage was an American style marriage although Mrs. X was born in Japan. She has been in Hawaii since 1920. Mrs. X lived at a Home to which Mr. X frequently went because he had friends there. They played cards or played the phonograph and were good friends. They went out as often as possible. He has a book of lover's etiquette which states that a man ought to take his sweetheart out twice a week. They went to shows, sight-seeing and various other places. Friends often went with them. One time an older friend asked him why he did not get married. Mr. X thought it was a good idea and decided to get a license, but first he had to propose to her according to the rules. He did so, and the license was secured, and they were married at church. Mr. X is now the proud proprietor of a store, and he is a very jovial man. Their marriage seems to be a happy one."

More and more the Japanese parents are losing their hold upon the marriage ideals and practices of the younger generation. Their attitudes are changing. The old customs will disappear as the number of first generation Japanese decreases. Gradually, the freedom of contact and association during youth with American people will increase compromise marriages and may eventually lead to strictly American romance marriages.

JAPANESE ETIQUETTE IN HAWAII

James Kashiwahara

This year Hawaii celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the first organized Japanese immigration to the Islands. Fifty years ago, the Pacific Mail Liner, City of Tokyo, brought some 950 Japanese immigrants into Honolulu harbor. This event marked the introduction of a new element in Hawaii's population. Today, the Japanese people constitute the largest single racial group in Hawaii's population, numbering approximately 148,000, out of the 380,000 total.

The Japanese people in coming here have naturally transplanted many of the customs and traditions of Japan, including much of the orthodox etiquette. The Japanese culture of 1880 was, in fact, so highly formalized that almost every possible life situation was covered by its appropriate rule of behavior; and the peasantry who emigrated to Hawaii were thoroughly grounded in what is "right and proper" for a multitude of human relations which, in the pioneer west, are without any standardized rule of etiquette. Many of these expected observances were, in the new environment, made to appear uncouth and vulgar by those not versed in Japanese etiquette. For example, the profuse bowing of the Japanese is thought by foreigners to be affected and insincere, and to protect themselves from undue misinterpretation, the Japanese have gradually abandoned some of the social conventions which are expected in Japan. Some of the forms of etiquette, particularly those associated with the more important crises of life, such as birth, marriage, and death, the immigrant Japanese cling to with an almost doglike tenacity. But when they do accept a new philosophy and the external forms of etiquette appropriate to it, they do it with sincerity and wholeheartedness.

The second and third generations, educated in American schools and living in an American community, tend to slough off many of the forms of civility which the first generation hold as essential to family solidarity. They are much more responsive to the definitions of the American public than their Japan-born parents, to whom much from the West still seems wholly barbarous. It is my purpose here to present certain of the forms of etiquette of the old Japanese type which the immigrants here and their children have maintained in a more or less modified form.

Greeting. In speaking of greeting and salutations, Faust says: "Instead of the handshake and the kiss as forms of greeting, the Japanese people use the o-jigi, the deep bow. Men, women and children spend a great deal of time in bowing to each other. It must be done slowly and with extreme dignity. The significant point of bowing, as far as the woman in Japan is concerned, is that society requires that she bow oftener than the man and much deeper. As the bow is really a form of worship, the deeper bow of woman to the man clearly suggests the inferior position that she holds."

Greeting in Hawaii among the Japanese people seems to be a combination of both the Occidental handshake and the Japanese o-jigi. While they are shaking hands they are also bowing. The second and third generations, however, have almost entirely discarded the o-jigi in favor of the handshake. This is perhaps to be expected

as it would be rather embarrassing for one party to extend his hand and to have the other party simultaneously bow.

Eating. In Japanese society, it was improper, not to say disrespectful, to begin eating until the head of the family began. This rule closely tied up with the principle of seniority. When there was a guest in the family, however, he occupied the seat of honor, and until he started, none of the host's family would begin. As a general rule, the women of the family never shared the honor of eating with the guests. That honor was left to the male members of the family.

At meal time, in Japan, each person sat on the floor before a small, low table on which his food was placed. The Japanese people used no knife, fork, or spoon, only chop-sticks; and they did not consider it bad form to eat and drink with loud smacking and sucking sounds. Rather, this was one form of showing the host that you appreciated the food.

Before one began eating, it was proper to say itadaki masu, "I shall partake", and after the meal, one said, gochiso sama, "That was an excellent meal". The Japanese were bound by their code of etiquette to depreciate whatever was their own and to praise whatever belonged to others. The host usually said, Nani no go aiso mo gozai masen kere do, dozo meshi agatte kudasai, "This dinner is neither nice nor plentiful, but please partake." It was considered bad form in Japan to talk during the meal. One never said a word until he was through with his meal.

It was considered improper to refuse anything that the host offered you. This custom differs from that of the etiquette of the Americans in that in American society, the host usually asks, "Would you care to have some of this?" You have there a choice of either accepting or refusing. Refusing to partake of the food that was set before you by the Japanese host, carried with it the implication that you were doubting his honesty and integrity.

The rules of etiquette that obtain among the Japanese people in Hawaii, with regard to eating are apparently the combination of both the Occidental and the Oriental. In most Japanese homes, the chopsticks are used primarily. However, instead of the small, low table, mentioned in a foregoing paragraph, the tables are usually the orthodox American dining room table. Instead of sitting on cushions on the floor, there are chairs. The furniture tends to be American, but the food and the utensils are more often Japanese. The rule of seniority is almost absent at the dinner table among the second and third generation Japanese in Hawaii. It is not an uncommon sight to see a typical Japanese family during the course of the dinner talking about things that interest the group. Here again, the Japanese people have accepted the American etiquette.

oOo

Editor's Note. The above description does not necessarily represent the situation in Japan at the present time. Neither is it true of all classes. Rather, the article describes the etiquette of the Japanese peasant class who emigrated to Hawaii after 1880.

SOME VIOLATIONS OF JAPANESE ETIQUETTE BY SOCIAL GROUPS IN HAWAII

Observations by Introductory Sociology Students

1. The failure to show proper respect to age. A truly well-bred Japanese child would never answer back to his parents even though they be in the wrong. They are shocked by the failure of some individuals to care for their aged parents and relatives The older generation also object to the easy, bantering style of address used by some children towards their parents and others "entitled to respect," such as teachers.

2. The free expression of personal feelings in public. The older generation of Japanese in Hawaii do not regard it proper to burden outsiders with their personal difficulties, and so will frequently smile when they speak of a death in their family. They regard it improper to praise the work of themselves or the members of their family. A father whose son has excelled in scholarship at the University will refer to his "ignorant and worthless boy". A Japanese is shocked by the Haole who praises his wife. He would be more likely to say, "This cake was made by my wife. She is a poor cook, the taste is terrible; but please try it."

3. The servile position of the westernized males relative to woman ires the old country Japanese. In rural Hawaii, the first generation Japanese man always walks ahead of his wife.

4. Social dancing. The close contact of the sexes in western dancing is regarded as immodest, not to say immoral. The attitudes towards dancing are, however, undergoing some modification in response to the definitions of the American schools.

5. Wearing shoes in the house. The old-fashioned Japanese consider it a sacrilege to the spirit of the home to wear the same footwear in the house that is used in the street. The Japanese homes have straw matting on the floors, which is difficult to keep clean and the housewife naturally objects to having dust and dirt tracked in.

6. Kissing in public as a means of greeting and expression of sentiment. Kissing or petting in public is regarded as vulgar.

7. The failure of some groups to bathe daily. The hot baths are regarded as a means of cleanliness and health for all the members of the family. Necessary exposure of the person in connection with bathing is not considered immodest, but in public bath-houses the two sexes are no longer permitted to bathe together.

8. The use of the fingers in eating. The dipping of the finger into the "poi" bowl is regarded as quite improper.

SOME FORMS OF CHINESE ETIQUETTE IN HAWAII

Alice K. Y. Lee

Though many of the customs of the Chinese may appear strange and even amusing to foreigners, it must be noted that by this means society is kept moving with a minimum amount of friction. The little formalities and courtesies rendered by individuals to one another are the necessary rules of the road. The object of Chinese etiquette is to "express the courtesy of the soul, and to give grace to life". Their elaborate forms of social intercourse date back to the ceremonial system developed during the Classic Chou Period (B.C. 1122-250). We find the Chinese rules of etiquette in the Classic Book of Rites (the Li Ki) where the ceremonial to be observed for a gentleman is described to the minutest detail for all occasions in his daily life.

Reverence to one's parents has been instilled in the hearts of children throughout the centuries as a result of the teachings of Confucius. The Chinese people look upon their children as the future source of income, as individuals from whom "tomorrow's rice" will come, as the future progenitors of the family, and as the future guardians of the family tablets and ancestors. It is the custom and the duty of children to rise early for the purpose of preparing the toilet articles for their parents and to clean the hall and yard before the appearance of the parents. They must be on hand to greet their parents with a smile and a respectful bow. Years ago, as a child, I can remember having to sweep the house early in the morning, heat water, and carry it in an elaborately designed basin to my mother's personal wash table. Her toothbrush, tooth powder or paste, and towel must be laid conveniently at hand ready for use. Thus, I was taught to reverence my parents.

Instead of shaking hands, as done in the western world, the Chinese clasp their own hands over their chest and shake them up and down gracefully. This has often been taken as a rebuff by foreigners, but to a Chinese it is natural and right. Though the Chinese in Hawaii have not adhered to this type of greeting, they, nevertheless, avoid prolonging the hand-shaking, and usually content themselves with a tiny bow or nod to acknowledge a greeting or show recognition.

In the matter of hospitality, the rules of etiquette exhort one to extend the greatest courtesy and respect to his guests. A host must inquire into the welfare of his guest and his family since the last time they met. When invited by his host to drink tea, he must accept and then take his leave by saying that he will call again. The host accompanies his departing guests as far as the gate. All formality is discarded, however, if the host invites his guest into his study or private rooms. Here, a guest is free to doff his jacket and cap and enjoy the informality and hospitality of the host. He may discuss any subject which it pleases the host to bring up and stay as long as he desires.

The Chinese are very punctilious in matters of convention or propriety, involving relations between the sexes. A woman does not appear before the men guests of her husband. Nor does she come out to greet a male guest in the absence of her husband. A servant, instead, is sent to inquire as to the business of the guest and to

extend the proper salutations and hospitality due a guest. The presentation of tea is never neglected even today in the urban districts of China and in Hawaii where the etiquette of the Chinese is fast disappearing. It is still customary for men and women to eat separately except within the family circle.

It is the duty of the host to escort all his guests to their seats and to pour wine for them. When they have toasted one another, he takes up his chopsticks and makes a sweeping motion with his chopsticks to include everybody and asks his guests to begin. Whereupon the guests respond and dip into the food. When all have done so, the host may begin. Rice is not served until the main course is concluded. Chopsticks are placed across a bowl after a meal only when an individual wishes to notify his host that he must leave at that time. This saves time and does away with a lot of embarrassment and explanations. It gives the departing guest an easy way to thank his host and apologize to the other guests for his early leave-taking. The host in turn need only express a few words of regret at his early departure. At the conclusion of the meal, hot towels and toothpicks are brought to the guests. In the use of the toothpick, however, it is like that of the Western world, in that one hand must be used as a shield over the mouth to hide operation. Drinking soup to the accompaniment of a great deal of noise characterizes one as a boor even though one may be of high rank.

The passing and handling of food and other articles as well as the receiving of articles with both hands is an essential observance in the etiquette of eating. Even today among the Chinese in Hawaii, it is regarded as extremely disrespectful and unmannerly for an individual to thrust things towards one without due ceremony. Both hands must be seen while at table with the left holding the bowl which is then slightly elevated but never at such a height as to touch the lips. Only the unmannerly or the unversed in the forms of proper etiquette bring their bowls up to their mouths. Parents are wont to reprimand their children whenever they neglect to have their left hand showing over the edge of the table. To eat with only one hand in view is supposed to inflict some kind of disaster upon either or both parents, usually death. The chopsticks must be carefully handled because of the belief that a spirit resides in each which would be injured or annoyed if harm befell the chopstick in which it resides. Here is another possibility for the unversed to offend unknowingly. It is considered polite for one to eat everything offered him by the host and especially to clean his bowl of every grain of rice. As children we have been taught and forced to eat every grain of rice in our bowls even though we did not finish the rest of the food set out before us. We had been told that as a penalty for failing to clean the bowl, we would marry a pock-faced man or woman when we grew up.

The Chinese in Hawaii usually effect a compromise of Chinese and Western forms of etiquette with regard to marriage. Unlike their village kin in China, many of the second generation in Hawaii marry on the basis of romantic love rather than in conformity to family arrangements, but others observe the traditional form of employing a matchmaker, even though they have made their decision on other grounds. The ancient code which designates cakes and other foodstuffs, a teapot and teacups, bedcoverings, etc., as things the bride must bring with her, is still adhered to, but the ceremony it-

self is performed by a minister. After the ceremony is carried out in the western manner, the family may perform the Chinese ceremony or they may not. Only in the case of families brought up along western lines are members of the girl's family present. The elder generation Chinese in Hawaii have been very slow in giving up the system of investigating the physical, mental, social, and economic eligibility of the contracting parties, feeling that it not only safeguards the family, but guarantees a better social product. For fear of propagating weak lines, the Chinese here are careful to avoid marrying individuals of the same surname.

It is considered by the Chinese a sign of great respect and love for a son to present his father with a coffin and funeral clothing for his birthday. This appears incongruous to the Westerners and it is one of the practices that has yielded considerably to western attitudes. In Hawaii the Chinese immigrants are prone to accept the western viewpoint and avoid references to death as much as possible. They feel that it is "bad luck" to talk about such things, and to present any one with a coffin would be regarded as an evidence that his speedy death is desired. In performing the funeral rites, however, the first generation follow the old country practices quite closely. There is of course some variation depending upon the time of arrival of the immigrants and section of China from which they came. As a rule, however, candles are always lighted at the foot of the casket and members of the family are made to kneel and kowtow to the corpse. In the more westernized family, most of the ancient death customs have been discarded save those of the wearing of hoods and grass slippers at the funeral, the wearing of white, and the going without jewels for at least a hundred days. The throwing of "spirit money" on the way to the grave is still a prevalent custom even among the "converted" groups. Food is still brought, incense burned, and paper clothing and money, burned for the use of the departed spirit at various intervals during the year at the graveside.

Although the Chinese living in Hawaii still cling to their conceptions of the traditional etiquette of China, they have been forced to make many modifications in response to Hawaiian conditions of life. The subsequent generations have come to accept the western forms of etiquette more and more. Emily Post supplants Li Ki as the arbiter of the social proprieties for most of the Chinese born in Hawaii.

o C o

Editor's Note. Chinese customs vary in different parts of China and with the introduction of new cultures and subsequent urbanization they change continuously. Consequently, the reader must regard the above as some forms of Chinese etiquette and not the forms. Then, too, the customs of the first generation Chinese in Hawaii belong to the Ching Dynasty and comparisons with modern China must be made with care.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL

Kum Pui Lai

Americanized Chinese of the second and third generations in Hawaii help to maintain their language schools, while parochial schools in the United States decline with the acculturation of the Norwegians, Russians, and other children of European ancestry.(1) This prolonged maintenance of the Chinese language institutions during the third generation exists because the Hawaiian frontier is approaching an area of limited land exploitation, while at the same time, China is developing her resources rapidly under a capitalistic system, thereby offering new economic opportunities for American-trained Chinese. Thus, nationalism in both areas, in one arising from race discrimination when orientals compete for professional positions and the other from a new national consciousness in the World Community, influences the maintenance of the Chinese language schools in Hawaii.

This renewed interest of "things Chinese" among the second and third generations is a stage preceding the decline of the language schools, according to a study of immigrant institutional growth in Hawaii by the writer.(2) Since the natural history technique presupposes the scientific classification of stages for comparative purposes,(3) the writer suggests the following cycle in the growth of the Chinese language school:

1. Stage of the westernization of adults.
2. The growth of the second generation.
3. The rise of the language school.
4. The maturity of the language school.
5. The acculturation of the second generation.
6. The growth of the third and fourth generations.
7. The decline of the language school.

During the first stage the adults prefer to learn English as an economic expedient. The early Chinese plantation laborers found that a knowledge of pidgin English became almost a prerequisite for the better jobs such as cooks and yardmen, and that a fair speaking knowledge of English was necessary for positions as compradores or middle men in contacting American and Chinese groups. Christian churches and missions helping these laborers to improve their occupational qualification established evening schools which enjoyed successful years and were instrumental in converting many Chinese to Christianity.

---

(1) Cf. Olaf Morgan Norlie, History of the Norwegian People in America, Minneapolis, Minn., Augsburg Publishing House, 1925, p.375, and Pauline V. Young, The Pilgrims of Russian-Town, Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1932, p.269.

(2) Kum Pui Lai, The Natural History of the Chinese Language School in Hawaii, M.A. Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1935.

(3) R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago, Illinois, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1930, p.16

Roughly speaking, the westernization of the "familyless" laborers began in 1853 and lasted to 1890, after which the females increased in the following proportion of the total Chinese population:

Year	Male	Female
1890	91.59%	8.41%
1910	79.12%	20.88%
1930	60.93%	39.07%

Towards the first few years of the eighties, language schools, societies, and mutual associations increased in number.

The second generation youths next occupy the attention of the Chinese. The failure of thousands to secure a fortune after years of hard labor on the plantations widened the cultural chasm between the immigrants and the villagers in China. The disillusioned laborers remitted less money to the home village and sent letters at greater intervals. They married Hawaiian women and at times accepted their customs such as including "poi" and raw fish in the food consumption. In 1910, the U.S. Census added a new classification for the 3,734 Asiatic-Hawaiians, most of whom were Chinese-Hawaiians. With the appearance of Part-Chinese and Chinese children on foreign soil, the laborers faced new hopes. They saw in these children of the second generation and future bearers of culture a golden opportunity to revive Chinese sentiments from which they had largely detached themselves.

The few educated laborers, after the duties of the day, taught the children of their fellowmen in the dim lights of the plantation camps. Where there was a concentration of Chinese in the rural areas they established a little language school. To bring these new members of the second generation back to the moral order of the family and ancestral village, the Chinese in Hawaii as early as 1872 started these culture-bridging institutions which had intermittent years of success and failure until the laborers began to migrate to the urban centers of Honolulu and Hilo. In 1910, 46.2% of the Chinese were in these two cities, 59.6% in 1920, and 74.4% in 1930. Pooling their economic resources they were able to build permanent schools for the second and future generations.

The rise of the language schools as permanent institutions began in 1911. From 1921 to 1934, the number of institutions increased from 9 to 19, thus reaching the highest point of growth with the appearance of the third generation Chinese.

The acculturation of the second and third generation Chinese merits attention as a distinct stage in the language school cycle. In the private and public schools of the Territory of Hawaii the Chinese between the ages of six and nineteen years number as follows:

Year	Private	Public	Total
1930	1,288	6,854	8,142
1931	1,399	6,726	8,125
1932	1,392	6,678	8,070
1933	1,408	6,668	8,076
1934	1,677	6,609	8,286

The ratio by year for the number of students who attended Chinese language schools to those registered in the American public and private schools of the Territory is as follows:

1930	.2951
1931	.3001
1932	.3071
1933	.3327
1934	.4070

Now, if these second and third generation orientals make successful occupational and social adjustments, and amalgamate with other racial groups the language institutions may be expected to decline. But race discrimination, such as employing a "haole" for a technical position which can be better filled by an oriental and paying salaries on a dual basis, results in a renaissance of Chinese culture in Hawaii and a hope especially among the educated for superior economic and professional opportunities in China.

The natural history of the Chinese school in Hawaii appears to deviate somewhat from the pattern of the parochial schools in America in that the "maturity stage" of the former is supported by the third and even fourth generation Chinese. Thus, out of the 340 students in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades in Mun Lun School,(1) 107 or 31.5% are second generation and 233 or 69.5% third generation, showing that the large presence of the third generation Chinese students helps to maintain the language institutions.

However, forces helping the decline of the language school are also at work. For example, in Mun Lun School the age range of the first graders is from 5 to 15 years, but 40.9% are between the ages of nine and fifteen. The third generation Chinese youngsters are being sent to the language school at a later period after an accelerated start in the American schools. Their parents are placing a greater premium on the English language.

To summarize, factors that contribute to the maintenance of the Chinese language schools are: (1) race discrimination, (2) approaching stage of "closed resources" in Hawaii, (3) stage of "open resources" in China, (4) rise of Chinese nationalism in the World Community, and (5) sentimental attitudes towards Chinese culture and ancestral memories. Factors that tend to accelerate the decline are: (1) acculturation and (2) economic adjustment in Hawaii. The Chinese living in Hawaii longer than other groups are more Americanized, and therefore, are in more advantageous positions to make superior economic adjustments through their fellow Chinese businessmen or their parents who have already established themselves in the community. In view of the above analysis one may expect a decline of the Chinese language school at the earliest during the fourth or perhaps during the fifth generation.

---

(1) The largest Chinese language school in Hawaii with 1,283 students in February, 1935. There are 12 grades in the institution.

CURRENT VITAL STATISTICS

Andrew W. Lind

Hawaii's population deviates so markedly from the normal age and sex distributions of stable communities that the reader is warned against easy generalizations from crude statistics. Although Hawaii is gradually coming of age, i.e. assuming an even distribution of the sexes and a normal age structure, it still has important groups made up chiefly of single young men and others consisting largely of old men. For example, 41 per cent of the Filipinos in Hawaii in 1930 were young men between the ages of 20 and 30. The United States military forces in Hawaii, approximating 20,000 men in the early years of maturity, modify greatly the vital indices of the major white, or "Other Caucasian" group, decreasing both the crude birth and death rates. On the other hand, the crude death rate of the Chinese is artificially boosted and its birth rate reduced by the fact that one fifth of its population are men over the age of 45.

"Race" is one of the major population categories by which most of the vital statistics of the Islands are still kept, although these classifications are gradually breaking down under the weight of the increasing crossing of "racial" lines in marriage. The terms used in the following tables correspond with those of the United States Census and in general with local practice, but they do not correspond with any precise anthropological definitions of race. (cf. Adams, Peoples of Hawaii, p.7) Hawaiians are supposedly full blooded indigenes, while the two Part-Hawaiian groups consist of the mixtures of Hawaiians with the immigrants from East and West. "Other Caucasians" include Caucasians except Portuguese and Spanish, who are separately listed. The pure blood descendants of the immigrants are classified with the "race" of the ancestors.

Visitors are frequently impressed with the Oriental cast of our population--63 per cent of the total. More significant for the future is the growing proportion of mixed Hawaiians--destined in time to include most of the population of the Islands.

Hawaii's growth in population was for many years a consequence of the excess of immigration over emigration but within the past two decades, the excess of births over deaths has played the major role. Interest in fertility and viability of the several racial groups has therefore greatly increased. Unfortunately, however, the crude statistics do not permit us to answer the questions ordinarily raised. The following table of crude birth and death rates reveals only the extent to which the several groups changed during 1933-34 due to the operation of the vital processes. There were roughly 2.5 times as many births as deaths in the total population but the vital index (ratio of births to deaths) of the mixed Hawaiian groups was very much higher. The Japanese, Filipino, and Puerto Ricans (all recent immigrant groups) were also considerably above the average.

Corrections of birth and death rates for abnormalities of age and sex give quite a different picture. (Lind, "Some Refinements of Vital Indices in Hawaii," Bishop Museum, Special Publication 25,

1934.) The comparative ranking of the several racial groups as to corrected death rates corresponds roughly with that of infant mortality, with the Hawaiian group at the top and the mixed Hawaiian, the Filipino, and Puerto Ricans somewhat below them on the list. Corrected birth rates are likewise highest among the Hawaiian groups, the Filipinos, and the Puerto Ricans and lowest among the "Other Caucasians." Contrary to popular assumptions, the Chinese and Japanese fertility rates are considerably below the groups mentioned and they are falling rapidly as Americanization goes on.

The process of racial amalgamation as measured in the statistics of inter-marriage appeals to the imagination of both settled residents and outsiders. A steadily increasing proportion of the population marry across "race" lines and through their children contribute to the rising Neo-Hawaiian people to whom the Islands of the future belong. Twenty years ago (1912-13), thirteen per cent of all the marriages in Hawaii were "mixed." Table III reveals that 30.1 per cent were of this character in 1933-34. It also indicates that the racial groups vary considerably in their ratios of outmarriage, but these differences are a consequence of "inequality of sex ratios and differences in language, religion, family customs and traditions, economic and social status, and education." (Adams, Peoples of Hawaii, p.31) Except for the Filipino, Chinese, and Haole groups which are markedly abnormal in their sex ratios, the women marry-out to a greater degree than the men. For example, of 366 Portuguese women married during the year 194 or 53 per cent married Portuguese men, 89 married Other Caucasians, 30 married Filipinos, 21 married Caucasian Hawaiians, etc. Of 279 Portuguese men married, those who took the 194 Potuguese women constituted 69.5 per cent of the total while only 19 found Haole wives, 26 married Haole-Hawaiians, and 14, pure Hawaiians. The Filipinos, on the other hand, have a great shortage of women and almost all the available Filipinas are wooed and won by their eager countrymen as soon as they reach a marriageable age.

Table I. Population by Race in Hawaii, 1930 and 1934.

Racial Groups	April 1, 1930 (1) Number	Percent	June 30, 1934 (2) Number	Percent
Hawaiian	22,636	6.1	21,796	5.8
Caucasian Hawaiian	15,632	4.2	18,169	4.8
Asiatic Hawaiian	12,592	3.4	16,250	4.3
Portuguese	27,588	7.5	29,236	7.7
Spanish	1,219	0.3	1,267	0.3
Puerto Rican	6,671	1.8	7,280	1.9
Other Caucasian	44,895	12.2	45,888	12.1
Chinese	27,179	7.4	26,989	7.1
Japanese	139,631	37.9	148,024	39.1
Korean	6,461	1.8	6,638	1.7
Filipino	63,052	17.1	56,700	15.2
Others	780	.3	711	.2
Total	368,336	100.0	378,948	100.0

(1) Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1930
(2) Estimate by Territorial Board of Health

Table II. Crude Birth and Death Rates and Infant Mortality Rates by Race for the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending June 30, 1934.

Racial Groups	Births Number	Births Rate per 1000 Pop.	Deaths Number	Deaths Rate Per 1000 Pop.	Infant Mortality Number	Infant Mortality Rate Per 1000 Bir.
Hawaiian	370	16.89	598	27.29	91	245.95
Caucasian Hawaiian	785	43.84	262	14.63	68	86.62
Asiatic Hawaiian	1,146	72.56	237	15.01	127	110.82
Portuguese	527	18.11	240	8.25	30	56.93
Other Caucasian	761	16.35	339	7.31	28	37.23
Puerto Rican	212	29.41	72	9.99	22	103.77
Chinese	492	18.25	295	10.94	26	52.85
Japanese	3,693	25.04	1,060	7.19	168	45.49
Korean	101	15.20	71	10.69	7	69.31
Filipino	1,306	22.31	478	8.17	160	122.51
Total (2)	9,431	24.85	3,679	9.69	728	77.19

(1) Bureau of Vital Statistics, Territorial Board of Health
(2) Two minor groups, the Spanish and "All Others" are not included in this total.

Table III. Marriages According to Race in the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending June 30, 1934. (1)

Race of Groom	Race of Bride												
	Hawaiian	Caucasian-Hawaiian	Asiatic-Hawaiian	Portuguese	Other Caucasian (2)	Puerto Rican	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Others	% Out-marriage of Grooms	Total
Hawaiian	76	23	38	7	3	1	4	3	3	0	1	54.2	159
Caucasian-Hawaiian	33	69	35	21	13	0	4	7	2	0	1	62.7	185
Asiatic-Hawaiian	22	33	34	6	4	1	14	4	0	1	0	71.4	119
Portuguese	14	26	9	194	19	8	2	3	1	1	2	30.5	279
Other Caucasian (2)	14	35	19	89	350	5	3	9	2	3	4	34.3	533
Puerto Rican	4	2		4	3	49	1	1	0	2	1	26.8	67
Chinese	6	5	14	6	6	0	124	9	0	1	0	28.5	171
Japanese	7	5	10	5	6	0	7	797	1	0	0	4.9	838
Korean	1	3	2	1	0	1	1	2	27			28.9	38
Filipino	33	17	27	30	7	20	2	16	4	209		42.8	365
Others		2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3		10
Percentage Of Outmarriage of Brides	63.8	68.6	82.1	47.0	14.8	42.3	23.5	6.3	32.6	3.8		30.1	
Total	210	220	190	366	411	85	162	851	40	217	12		2764

(1) Based upon figures secured from Bureau of Vital Statistics, Territorial Board of Health.
(2) Includes Spanish.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

A. W. Lind

Seven years of sociological research in the field of race relations have now been completed at the University of Hawaii. Although a mere beginning as far as a permanent and inclusive research program is concerned, this period has permitted a preliminary reconnoitering along the various frontiers of study, and we are perhaps now prepared to formulate a more comprehensive statement of the possibilities which Hawaii offers as a research laboratory in race relations.

The term "race relations" has been broadly defined to include all the relations which are incidental to "the coming together in a common territory of peoples of varied racial stocks and different cultures." In the prosecution of studies within this field, it is necessary to give attention to biological factors and to the culture traits of the various peoples who make up the Hawaiian community but the emphasis is upon the changing character of the contacts and the relations among these peoples. It is apparent, therefore, that although materials are drawn from many and varied disciplines--biology, geography, ethnology, economics, and political science--the point of view and integration is essentially sociological, i.e., in terms of social interaction. It probably does not need arguing that Hawaii's principal bid for distinction as a research field in human affairs is a consequence of the meeting and interaction of such a variety of cultural and racial types under conditions of contact favorable for study. Races in many stages and conditions of contact, rather than races in isolation, give to Hawaii its peculiar social research value.

It was quite natural, therefore, that the plans for a race relations institute first conceived and discussed some six years ago, should center around the problems of miscegenation and interracial marriage. As Dr. R. E. Park, of the University of Chicago, who during the year 1931-32 assisted us in defining the field of our research, phrased it,

> "Race problems are characteristically of two sorts. There are the problems which arise where race mixture does take place, and the problems where it does not take place, or where, as in the case of the Jews, it takes place very slowly. In the first case the problem is progressively solved as the races involved progressively disappear by amalgamation. In the second case the problem may find its solution in some form of accommodation, of which caste is a type... Whatever the form race relations even eventually assume, biological amalgamation inevitably takes place sooner or later. . . Race mixture. . . becomes a convenient numerical index of cultural assimilation and of race relations generally."

The corner stone of the research structure which we have begun to build has quite logically been the problem of interracial marriage, and to Dr. Romanzo Adams, veteran research student in the field, has been given this major responsibility. All the other research problems under way or projected, are organized around and derive much of their significance from the extent to which they facilitate or retard inter-marriage.

Definitive Studies Nearing Completion. The first and major publication of the series of studies in this field is to be Dr. Romanzo Adams' "Interracial Marriage in Hawaii". While summarizing the significant trends with regard to miscegenation in Hawaii, its more significant research value is likely to be derived from the framework which it provides for the detailed investigation of the complex of factors associated with it. Among the topics accorded preliminary treatment here and suggested for more intensive investigation later are the following: racial visibility and intermarriage, the biological bases of race prejudice, religion and interracial marriage, the economic bases of intermarriage, racial myths and inter-marriage. This volume is now ready for the press.

Two additional volumes by visiting Research Professors, Dr. E.B. Reuter of the University of Iowa (1930-31) and Dr. Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago (1931-32), are to be published in the not distant future and will deal primarily or in part with certain aspects of race relations in Hawaii. Dr. Reuter's study parallels his earlier classic on the Mulatto and describes specifically the role of the Hawaiian hybrid in the life of the Territory. Dr. Park's volume, embracing both his observations in Hawaii and those of his year of travel to the principal port cities of Asia, Africa, and South America, will doubtless epitomize his matured philosophy of race relations in general.

Another volume, well along towards completion, Ecological Succession in Hawaii by Dr. A. W. Lind is designed to provide the economic and demographic setting within which the process of racial fusion has gone on. Against a background of similarly situated areas in the Pacific region, the measurable regularities and sequences of Hawaii's economic and racial development have been traced. The invasion of western capitalism, with its attendant problems of land, labor, and capital resources and control, has determined, of course, not only the variety and numbers of races brought together within the islands, but it has also conditioned to a considerable degree the nature of the relationships between them. This study, like Dr. Adams', is expected to define a field of research, as well as to explore in a preliminary way a number of problems deserving more detailed investigation later.

Among the generic problems of colonial areas where several racial groups meet, and a factor which either limits or facilitates hybridization, is what is familiar to students of Oriental affairs as Extraterritoriality. Special courts with jurisdiction over cases involving foreigners and governed by western codes of law have developed in several colonial areas, including China, Japan, and Turkey. In the areas mentioned, this arrangement was officially recognized through treaty or other government agreement, and a fairly adequate literature regarding it is now available. Another and less formal type of extraterritoriality without governmental initiative and frequently without governmental sanction or knowledge is in some ways even more important, but the literature in this field is almost negligible. Although rarely recognized as such, the same sort of device has appeared in Hawaii, as it has in most other regions where immigrant groups of considerable size are compelled to adjudicate differences within their own ranks and with other races resident there. Clarence Glick is now completing for submission as his doctor's thesis and later for publication a study of Chinese societies in Hawaii from the standpoint of their extra-territorial controls and their influence upon the entire complex of race relations in the Territory.

A study falling within the same general field is that of Hawaii's most characteristic institution, the plantation. Its needs have largely determined the extent and racial complexion of Hawaii's immigrant population, while the political and social character of the plantation has given preliminary definition to the relations between the various peoples in Hawaii. But the plantation has also developed in many parts of the world as an incident to the expansion of capitalistic enterprise. Dr. E. T. Thompson, who spent his early life on a South Carolina plantation and has since engaged in an extensive study of the literature on the plantation in various parts, has worked out a general theory of the plantation as a political institution. During the past two years he has been testing and revising this theory in the light of Hawaiian experience.

Studies in Progress. Not only the mixed blood, but every person subjected to the varied cultural definitions and patterns of so heterogeneous a community as Hawaii's, constitutes a potential problem in race relations. Hawaii, in particular, offers a rich field for the study of the cultural hybrid--the individuals who are in transit between two different cultural worlds. Dr. Everett Stonequist of Skidmore College is utilizing the present year to supplement and test his study of the Marginal Man by experience of local cultural hybrids.

Two studies of acculturation are now under way, and some of the necessary field work at least should be completed within the next two years. The transformations which occur in the family systems of two racial groups, the one a well organized immigrant group and the other the native population, are being studied in a preliminary way through case studies secured by Jitsuichi Masuoka and Miss Margaret Lan. Beginning with the most elementary food and clothing habits and eventually working up to the more subtle matters of moral and ethical values, Mr. Masuoka expects over a period of years to trace the patterns of change from Japanese culture to the evolving Island culture. A beginning in the much neglected field of Hawaiian acculturation is being made incidentally thru the detailed histories of mixed Hawaiian families now in the fifth or sixth generation of mixture. These data include the more formal facts relative to marriages, births and deaths, and also the personal experiences that throw light on the customs, beliefs, values, and attitudes of the peoples concerned.

Several minor studies of the institutional transformations incident to the multi-cultural and racial contacts in Hawaii are now in process and should constitute important contributions to large studies of acculturation on an institutional level. Materials are being drawn chiefly from the Chinese and Japanese institutions, including the language schools, the church, and the family. A study by John Reinecke of the rise of a language, peculiar to the intercultural situation in Hawaii, offers interesting possibilities for the interpretation of racial interaction.

A discussion of the important fields for future expansion is omitted for lack of space.